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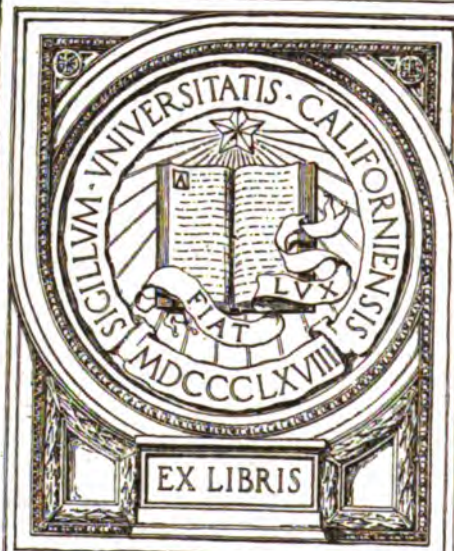
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THE QUARTERLY
OF THE
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ASSOCIATION

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ROUTE OF CABEZA DE VACA.

BETHEL COOPWOOD.

Part III B.

To understand how exaggerated stories were circulated among the Spaniards in Mexico a few instances may suffice. Tello says: "In this year, 1538, the Priest Fray Antonio de Ciudad Rodrigo sent three religious teachers in some ships of the Marquis del Valle to a land of which there was notice that it was inhabited and very rich. They went and found the contrary, and on account of the Spaniards not wanting to stay they returned; and then the same Fray Antonio de Ciudad Rodrigo sent other religious teachers by land, who went by the coast of the South Sea, and turned toward the north in company with a captain who was going also to discover new countries, though with different objects. Having, then, traveled a long time, they came to two roads, and the captain selected the one to the right hand and in a few days' journey encountered very rough and steep mountains, where he could not go forward, and he turned back, as did one of the religious teachers on account of his being very ill. The other religious teacher took the left hand, with two Indians he was carrying with him for interpreters, and finding an open and continuous road, after a few days' journey he came to a country inhabited by people, who came out to receive him, believing him to be a thing

of heaven, calling him the messenger of God, touching and kissing his habit. They went on following him from day to day, sometimes two hundred, others three hundred, and as many as four hundred persons. Some of them left the road near midday to hunt hares, rabbits, and deer for their support and that of the religious teacher, to whom they first gave what was necessary. In this way they traveled more than two hundred leagues, until they were told that the country farther in was populated by clothed people, and that they had flat-roofed houses of many stories and garrets, and that there were other nations on the banks of a great river, where there were many walled towns, and that passing the river there other were very large towns of richer people, and that there were cows and other animals different from those of Castile, from where the natives of this land brought many things necessary for their sustenance, because they went at times to labor in that country.

"Before that, on account of some confused stories, there had gone out large fleets by sea and some armies by land to discover such countries, but God was not willing that it should be done except by a San Franciscan friar, ragged and patched, before anyone else, who having endured the greatest labors, hunger, and misfortunes of so long a road, returned to Mexico and gave an account thereof to his prelate, who was the Father Fray de Niza, previously commissary-general of the Indies, a learned man and very religious, who was then provincial of the province of the Holy Evangelist; and he also gave account to the viceroy, Don Antonio de Mendoza."¹

Here we have a part of the origin of the excitement about the Seven Cities and lands of great wealth; and it is not impossible that some wandering Indians may have crossed the country from the buffalo range to Sonora and spread the stories of houses, cattle, and other wealth, which accounts were seized upon and exaggerated and finally attributed to the survivors of the Narvaez expedition. But Mendoza had a basis on which to erect the fabric of fiction with which to interest Charles V in an expedition to the north.

But Tello goes on to say: "The holy father Fray Marcos de Niza, to assure himself of what that religious teacher had related, determined to go and see it, and undertook the journey on foot *bare-*

¹Tello, Cap. XCII.

footed, being already very old, with zeal for the salvation of souls, that although the religious teachers disturbed it, for that he did not abandon the journey, as Herrera says, decade, VI., lib. 1, cap. i, p. 201, carrying with him Fray Juan Olmedo, who was of the province of Jalisco; and though Torquemada says he took him for a guide, it was not for this alone, but not to burden the holy province of Jalisco, whose son Fray Juan Olmedo was, and that he would take him, as his sons had labored for the glory and honor of having sent laborers to the vineyard of the Lord, of so many and such barbarous nations. See Juan de la Cruz, lib. 6, cap. II, and Cabrera, lib. 13, cap. II, p. 1262.

"He arrived at the town of *San Miguel*, which they call *Culiacan*, and received notice that a short time before there had arrived at the port of Mazatlan four men, one called Andrés Dorantes, another Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca, another Juan del Castillo, another Esteban a negro, and Maldonado, who, as Cabrera says, escaped from the fleet which Pánfilo de Narvaez took to Florida. The Indians killed him and all his soldiers, without any more than these escaping, who in the utmost confusion and disorder arrived at those ports, discovering large provinces and nations; and having lost the vessel, they went inland towards Jalisco where they met Captain Diego de Alcaraz and the captain Melchor Diaz, who was afterwards *alcalde mayor* of Culican."² (He was made captain under Coronado in 1540.)

Here is a glimpse of the accounts about the arrival of Cabeza de Vaca, tending to show he came out in Jalisco, and that it was at a later date that Melchor Diaz became *alcalde mayor* of Culiacan; and it is cited from Cabrera. Now, if he was made such after Fray Marcos de Niza arrived at Culiacan, which was in 1538, by both this account and that of Francisco Gomara, then it was to succeed the nobleman Tapia. This is not only consonant with the records, but with all of Cabeza de Vaca's relation of the meeting with Alcaraz.

Tello goes on and says: "From there (Culiacan) the reverend Fray Marcos de Niza made a report of his journey to the viceroy, and gave a very extensive account of all the ports of the South Sea, of those provinces and nations; and the viceroy, having received the account of said father, sent him orders to take possession of all those

²Tello, Cap. XCII.

provinces, which from the first were administered by the religious teachers of Nuestro P. S. Francisco of the holy Province of Jalisco. The Fray Marcos de Niza pursued his journey, starting from Culiacan, taking with him Fray Juan Olmedo with some Indians and Esteban the negro, and he went following the same route which Fray Juan had followed before. He arrived at Petatlan, and running the coast he discovered many provinces, passing more than three hundred leagues further on than where the Spaniards had gone. He obtained information of the seven cities of Quivira and of the three provinces of Marata, Acuz, and Tontecac, which are many leagues further or than the Sibolos, according to Gomara, Part I, folio 281, and Cornelio Wicief in chapter of Nueva Granada, page 161.

"This holy baron having examined these provinces, he determined to send Esteban and some Indians to the province of the Sibolos, as in fact he did. They were put to death by those barbarians, only two escaping to bring the news to the holy father, who regretted their loss as was reasonable, and the Indians seeing the mortality the Sibolos had made among their companions, and fearing that the father might order them to go from that to another province, they determined to take his life, as Herrera says, by which they obliged him to withdraw with much pain, not from fear of death, but because those souls, *as many as had been baptized*, might be lost and apostatize from the faith.

"He withdrew after having taken possession of all those provinces, as stated by Herrera, Bernal Diaz del Castillo, cap. 201, fol. 235; Villagran, canto III, cap. II, fol. XI; Cabrera, lib. 13, cap. II, page 1162; Juan de la Cruz, lib. 6, cap. XIV.

"Having seen the provinces of Marata, Acuz, and Tontecac, which he called San Francisco, continuing the name given to them by Fray Juan the first time he went into the land, as is affirmed by Juan de la Cruz and Wicief, he returned to New Spain, considering that if he should die there the knowledge of all those lands might be lost, and the baptized Indians inhabiting them, who were many, might apostatize.

"He arrived at Mexico and gave an account to the viceroy, D. Antonio de Mendoza, of what he had seen, and how what the other religious teacher had said was certain and true."³

³Tello, Cap. XCII.

Not only the great majority of the Spanish people, but Charles V himself held in highest esteem whatever such holy men might report; and no one was better informed of this fact than Mendoza, who, with this confirmation by Fray Marcos de Niza, deemed the story of such wonderful countries an unquestionable basis for asking permission and aid from the king to make the expedition to and conquest of Marata, Acuz, and Tontecas, and the Seven Cities of Sibola and Quivira, especially when he had not failed to shape the latter part of Cabeza de Vaca's relation in anticipation of the success of the labors of such holy fathers in that direction. And it is not strange that Cortés should pronounce the whole story of Fray Niza a fabrication based upon information obtained from some of his Indians.

Francisco Lopez de Gomara says: "Fernando Cortés and Don Antonio de Mendoza desired to make entrance into and conquest of that land of Sibola, each one by himself and for himself; Don Antonio as viceroy of New Spain, and Cortés as captain general and discoverer of the South Sea. They attempted to join in order to do it by concert of action; but having no confidence in each other, they quarreled, and Cortés came to Spain, and Don Antonio sent out Francisco Vasquez de Coronado, a native of Salamanca, with a good army of Spaniards and Indians and four hundred horses."⁴

This shows that Mendoza was striving to get control of and make the expedition to Sibola; and had Cabeza de Vaca stated in his relation to the king that he came to Jalisco and there first met Alcaraz, Diaz, and Chirinos, that would not have aided the scheme for an expedition to the north from Culiacan. But being sent by Mendoza to inform the king of the country discovered, he must have been required to state that he came out at Culiacan. For, as Zamacois says, of the arrival of Cabeza de Vaca and his companions at Mexico: "The viceroy Mendoza treated them with much amiability; and on listening to the seductive relation they made to him of the rich country of Quivira, he proposed to send in the future an expedition to add that flourishing realm to the crown of Castile. In order to put in operation his enterprise, he told them they should form a plan of the territories that they had traversed in their long peregrination. Cabeza de Vaca and his companions obeyed the desire of the viceroy,

⁴*Historia de las Indias*, Part I. *Tit. Sibola*.

by making the map in the most exact manner possible for them. A few days after that Cabeza de Vaca and Castillo embarked at Vera Cruz for Spain, commissioned by the viceroy to inform the monarch of the land discovered."⁵

This shows they were commissioned by Mendoza to make the relation to the king, and that he desired to make the expedition.

Again, Zamacois says: "While the realm of New Spain flourished visibly under the well managed government of the illustrious viceroy Don Antonio Mendoza, an occurrence came to cut the good friendship and excellent harmony which had reigned until then between him and Hernan Cortés. From the time notice of the existence of the rich realm of Quivira and of its seven brilliant cities, in which gold, silver and pearls abound, was received, the viceroy proposed to send an expedition to discover and take possession of the country. On seeing the preparations being made to undertake the discovery, the Marquis del Valle declared that the enterprise belonged to him, as well on account of its being something analogous to his employment of captain general, as by the privilege the king had conceded to him for the discoveries on the South Sea. But the viceroy, who desired to participate in the glory promised by the aggregation of those famous territories to the crown of Castile, proposed to commit the expedition to Francisco Vasquez de Coronado, governor of New Galicia, and notified the Marquis del Valle that he should desist from taking any step in respect to the projected discovery."⁶

The extreme to which Mendoza carried his bitter opposition to any part being taken by Cortés in the enterprise, cannot be better expressed than it is in the quotation following:

"In the Statement of his grievances, Cortés declares that Mendoza not only threw every possible obstacle in his way, seizing six or seven vessels which failed to get away with Ulloa, but that even after Ulloa had gone, the viceroy sent a strong force up the coast to prevent the ships from entering any of the ports. When stress of weather forced one of the ships to put into Guatulco, the pilot and sailors were imprisoned and the viceroy persistently refused to return the ship to its owner. About the same time, a messenger who had been sent to

⁵Zamacois, Vol. IV, pp. 605-606.

⁶Zamacois, Vol. IV, pp. 652-653.

Cortés from Santiago in Colima was seized and tortured, in the hope of procuring from him information about the plans of Cortés.”⁷

Mendoza was eager for the glory of adding the territories to be conquered to the crown; and he was active in combining reports to influence his royal majesty not only to permit him to set on foot the expedition, but to expend large sums of his own wealth to insure its success. “Money was advanced from the royal chest to any who had debts to pay before they could depart, and provisions were made for the support of those who were about to be left behind by fathers, brothers, or husbands. Arms and military supplies had been among the things greatly needed in New Spain when Mendoza reported its condition in his first letters to the home government. In 1537 he repeated his request for these supplies with increased insistence.” The subject is not again mentioned in his letters, and we may fairly suppose that he had received the weapons and munitions of war, fresh from the royal arsenals of Spain, with which he equipped the expedition on whose success he had staked so much.⁸

This increased insistence being in 1537, it was before Fray Niza was sent out, and possibly before Cabeza de Vaca left New Spain, as he did not get off until April, 1537;⁹ and he may have borne the communication to the king, delivering it after arriving in the port of Lisbon on the 9th day of August, 1537. Indeed, it may have been included in the commission given them by the viceroy a few days before they embarked at Vera Cruz.

This shows only a detached portion of a plan to influence his royal majesty to approve and aid in putting on foot the proposed expedition. It is a clearly defined foot print of the infatuated viceroy’s scheme, and cannot be attributed to any other cause, after the monster elephant and its trail through the mountains has been seen and made familiar to the readers of history.

Though Coronado’s confirmation was not signed till April 18, 1539, it seems he was already in New Galicia arranging the administration and other affairs of his government, and “entertained Fray Marcos when the latter passed through his province in the spring of

⁷*Fourteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology, 1892-93, Part I, p. 369, and note 2 thereon.*

⁸*Ibid.*, p. 378.

⁹*Naufraios, Cap. XXXVII.*

1539,¹⁰ and accompanied the friar as far as Culiacan, the northernmost of the Spanish settlements. Here he provided the friar with Indians, provisions, and other things necessary for the journey to the Seven Cities."¹¹

The fact of Coronado's being there and entertaining Fray Marcos about the date of his nomination being confirmed by the king, which could not have reached him till a month or two later, is significant of some preconceived plan of operation; and if, as said by Gomara, Fray Marcos passed by Culiacan in 1538, such indication is even stronger. But if, as stated by Tello, Fray Marcos de Niza undertook the journey on foot and barefooted,¹² the prospective leader of the expedition to be gotten up on the holy father's report must have made a queer appearance in company with such a pedestrian.

Again, it is said that "about midsummer of 1539, Friar Moses came back from Cibola. Coronado met him as he passed through New Galicia, and together they returned to Mexico to tell the viceroy what the friar had seen and heard. Coronado remained at the capital during the autumn and early winter, taking an active part in all the preparations for the expedition which he was to command. After the final review in Compostela, he was placed in command of the army, with the title of captain-general."¹³

From this it appears that Coronado figured with Fray Marcos from the beginning, accompanying him to Culiacan as he went out, and joining him on the return and accompanying him to Mexico, where the scheme of Mendoza for the expedition was perfected. And it is not strange that Fray Marcos should report the Seven Cities, when that theory had been handed round from a much earlier period. Indeed, Guzman had with him an Indian who told of his father having gone "into the back country with fine feathers to trade for ornaments, and that when he came back he brought a large amount of gold and

¹⁰Gomara says Fray Marcos de Niza and another Franciscan friar went in by Culiacan in the year 1538. *Historia de las Indias*, Part I. Tit. Sibola.

¹¹*Fourteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology*, 1892-93, Part I, p. 381.

¹²Tello, Cap. XCII.

¹³*Fourteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology*, 1892-93, Part I, pp. 381-382.

silver, of which there is a good deal in that country. He went with him once or twice, and saw some very large villages, which he compared to Mexico and its environs. He had seen seven very large towns which had streets of silver workers."¹⁴ And the name of the Seven Cities had already been given to the country Guzman was aiming to discover when he first started out from Mexico.

Now, whatever may have been the understanding between Mendoza and Fray Marcos, Coronado must have been a co-worker in the scheme, and when the report of the friar, supervised by Mendoza and Coronado, was completed at Mexico, and given out to the public, everything was ripe to organize the expedition. The stories on the streets of the capital connected, blended, and confused the accounts of Cabeza de Vaca and Fray Marcos, and made the general impression that both had seen the Seven Cities, and greatly facilitated the plan of the viceroy and of Coronado. But it is plain to every student of the relation of Cabeza de Vaca that he did not claim to have seen or even heard of the celebrated Seven Cities of Síbola. Indeed, all that he says about the towns and houses is set forth in Part II of this paper, and it is as follows:

"Y á mí me dieron cinco esmeraldos hechas puntas de flechas, y con esta flechas hacen ellos sus areitos y bales; y pareciendome á mí que eran muy buenas, les pregunté que dónde las habian habido, y dijeron que las traian de unas sierras muy altas que están hácia el norte, y las compraban á trueco de penachos y plumas de papagayos, y decian que habit allí pueblos, de mucha gente y casas muy grandes."¹⁵ So as to the towns, all he says is that they said "there were towns there of many people and very large houses." This was all they could find in his relation to corroborate the tales repeated on the streets, or the account of the Seven Cities of Síbola described by Fray Marcos. And it seems that Cabeza de Vaca was not educated in the already existing lore as to the Seven Cities; for his flight of more than a thousand leagues of populated country where they had much subsistence, and always planted beans and maize three times a year, was "close to the coast, by the way of those towns

¹⁴*Fourteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology, 1892-93, Part I, pp. 472-473.*

¹⁵*Naufraios, Cap. XXXI.*

where we traveled," which did not chime with the story of the Seven Cities, even if it had not been a patent exaggeration.

The dissatisfaction in Guzman's camp as to the route to be pursued and the change in favor of going down the river toward the territory of Francisco Cortés, and the subsequent determination to send Pedro Almendez Chirinos toward the north, after concluding the war with the Indians of the river of Cuitzeo, may be better understood by reference to Castañeda's account of the Indian Tejo, who, it seems, was at the foundation of the idea of the Seven Cities. This was general among the people at Mexico as early as 1530, while Cabeza de Vaca was yet in the vicinity of Mal-Hado, waiting to get Oviedo to come away with him. The following quotation is from Castañeda's narrative, translated by George Parker Winship:

"FIRST PART.

"Chapter 1, which treats of the way we first came to know about the Seven Cities, and of how Nuño de Guzman made an expedition to discover them.

"In the year 1530¹⁶ Nuño de Guzman, who was President of New Spain, had in his possession an Indian, a native of the valley or valleys of Oxitipar, who was called Tejo by the Spaniards. This Indian said he was the son of a trader who was dead, but that when he was a little boy his father had gone into the back country with fine feathers to trade for ornaments, and that when he came back he brought a large amount of gold and silver, of which there is a good deal in that country. He went with him once or twice, and saw some very large villages, which he compared to Mexico and its environs. He had seen seven very large towns which had streets of silver workers. It took forty days to go there from this country, through a wilderness in which nothing grew, except some very small plants about a span high. The way they went was up through the country between the two seas, following the northern direction. Acting on this information, Nuño de Guzman got together nearly 400 Spaniards and 20,000 friendly Indians of New Spain, and, as he happened to be in Mexico, he crossed Tarasca, which is in the province of Michoacan, so as to get into the region which the Indian

¹⁶Tello gives the date of Guzman's leaving the City of Mexico as the beginning of November, 1529. Cap. XXVI.

said was to be crossed toward the North sea, in this way getting to the country which they were looking for which was already named 'The Seven Cities.'¹⁷

This shows that the name was already in Mexico long before Cabeza de Vaca arrived there; and it is fair to presume that its being reported that he had seen or even heard of the Seven Cities was merely to add force to the general design.

Did the expression towards the North Sea, used by Castañeda, mean towards the Gulf of Mexico, which the Spaniards of New Spain call *la Mar del Norte*, or did it mean towards the north pole? The former seems to be the meaning of the words used.

Having gone to the crossing of the river coming from Toluca, Guzman intended to march northward from there; but the murmuring in his camp about the route caused him to order the two Indians he took from Mexico to be brought before him, but only one was found. When they brought him before Nuño de Guzman, he asked him for his companion, and he did not know what to say, nor what had become of the other. When asked whether he did not know there was nothing on the route they had proposed to take with the army, he simply replied that his companion knew better than he did. Then it was that Guzman called to him certain caciques of Jacona, who gave him information of the river of Cuitzeo and its settlements, as well as of the valley of Cuina. Hearing such good news and believing the same, he called his captains, and when together, he told them that they and all the army were lost, and that it was his fault in being guided by two Indians, and on that account he had called them together, and it was then determined to take the route to the west down the river toward the territory of Francisco Cortés.¹⁸

It does not appear affirmatively that the missing Indian guide was Tejo, but it may fairly be presumed to have been he. He is stated to have been a native of Valle or Valles de Oxitipar, the locality of which is not stated; but if it was the Valles, first known as Tanzocoh, Guzman may have obtained him at Pánuco, where he was governor before going to Mexico. And Tejo once getting out there

¹⁷*Fourteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology, Part I, pp. 472-473, and original Spanish, pp. 416-417.*

¹⁸Tello, Cap. XXVIII.

on the river and, perhaps, recognizing the country may have fled to his native country or home.

After the fighting with the Indians of Cuitzeo river, Guzman, still having an idea of what his lost guide had said about the route to the Seven Cities, sent Pedro Almendez Chirinos toward the north in order to ascertain whether the course he first intended to take was correct. After going as far north as Chichimequillas, now Los Lagos, and into the Sierra Gorda, and not finding any way out toward the North sea or Gulf, Chirinos came out to the west again, and, taking the advice of the Zacatecan cacique, continued his march northward to the present site of Zacatecas, and there turned back across the country to reunite with Guzman's column. But had he taken the route from where he came back out of Sierra Gorda to the northeast, now pursued to where San Luis Potosí is, and thence out by Catorce to where Ventura now is, and there turned toward the Gulf, he might have found many Indian settlements and very high mountains, notably Cero Potosí and Cerro Pabillo, and might have found the Seven Cities referred to by Tejo in the region now embracing Raices, Iturbide, Galeana, Hualahuises, Linares, Raiones, and Montemorelos. But pursuing the northerly direction, nowhere would he have found the locality now claimed for the Seven Cities between him and the Gulf, or, as it was then called, *la Mar del Norte*. So Tejo may have meant the region round Cerro Potosí; and when a small boy he may have gone up there with his father from Tanzocob or Tancanhuitz; the distance seeming to him to be great, on account of his youth. If he went from Tanzocob up by Valle de Maiz, and up the plain by Mier y Noregas to Galeana, he would have found scarcity of vegetation, except short grass (*yerba*).

Whatever may have been Tejo's native place, he may have observed his master's greed for gold and silver when he was robbing the sepulchres of the caciques round Pánuco of their contents, and added the story of the abundance of precious metals to please Guzman's fancy, until he could find an opportunity to abscond and make his way to his tribal kindred. But however this may be, he antedated Cabeza de Vaca in having told of the Seven Cities, and may have been the author of the story which excited Guzman and the people of Mexico to go in search of Síbola.

There is in the fact of this Indian being called a Tejo, or Texo

as the early Spaniards wrote it, enough to afford a nucleus for the history of the origin of the name Texas, by following the idea of his being a Texo to its connection with the Tejo tribe of the Tejo-Coahuilteca family which extended from near Red river to where Monclova is now in Coahuila, and whose family tongue has been referred to above. But this is not sufficiently connected with the subject of this paper to justify its examination here.

Finally, as the Seven Cities of Sibola are placed not far east of the Colorado of the West, and far north of Rio Gila, they do not correspond with the direction given by Tejo, which required a northern route from the crossing of the river coming from Toluca to a point even with these cities and thence toward the Gulf of Mexico, or *la Mar del Norte*, to reach them, thereby placing them east of such northern course, about which the dissatisfaction occurred in Guzman's camp as to pursuing such route.

But Tejo will here be left to be followed by some one writing upon the Tejo tribe, or the Tejas, whose indelible foot prints are eternized by their name in the plural, Texas, or Tejas, being fixed upon the territory over which they once roamed.

The existence of a family tongue from Texas to Michoacan, wherever the Nahoas went, is another reason to believe that Cabeza de Vaca traveled within its limits from the Bravo to where he met Alcaraz. And this great natural and even historical fact and Cabeza de Vaca's reference thereto constitute a proof of such being the limits through which he passed, which rises above his inventive genius, and defies the attempts of the most skillful schemers to change it.

Declining to enter the nebula of prehistoric times, it is rational to hold, with Señor Chavero, that here were three great groups occupying the country, to wit: Mayaquiché at the south, the Otomies at the centre, and the Nahoas at the north, and this especially between the great central table lands and the Mexican Gulf. The indelible recollections preserved as to the three will never allow doubts as to their existence; and in attempting to go back of them, the historian enters the field of hypothesis, where it is easy to make such blunders as might wound common sense; while the intelligent reader cares not whether these three great families sprang from Asiatic races, or were autochthons, or, under the Darwinian theory,

by natural selection made where history first finds them, the astonishing bound from the monkey to the man. That they existed there will suffice for this part of the examination of Cebeza de Vaca's route, and such fact is patent from the parts of such families being in the country through which he passed even till the present day, with a family tongue as he notes.

The continuous emigrations of the Nahoas toward the south and of the Mayas toward the north, each as far as the central part occupied by the Otomies, caused the confusion of races and families, mixing the language and mutually changing religions and forms of worship, though always preserving enough of the original tongue of each people to serve as a common medium through which the different detached tribes could communicate their thoughts to each other. And it has been already shown that many of the tribes from the Bravo to Sierra Gorda were of the Nahoa family, whose emigrations toward the south, or centre of the country, brought them in contact there with the Otomi family and the Tarasco branch of it that found the powerful kingdom of Michoacan, of which the unfortunate king who was tortured and put to death by Guzman was the actual native ruler, and whose ancient realm embraced Jacona and all of Pedro Almendez Chirinos's *encomienda*.

In his volume on the State of Mexico, Velasco says, the inhabitants of the district of Jilotepec speak Spanish, the Mexican, and the Otomitl, and says the same of seven other districts of the State. He says the people of the district of Chalco de Diaz Covarrubias speak Spanish, Mexican, Nahuatl, and Otomitl; those of the district of Ixtlahuaca de Raion speak Spanish, Otomitl, and Mazahuatl; and the same is said of the district of Valle de Bravo. He says the people of the district of Toluca de Laredo speak Spanish, Mexican, Nahuatl, and Otomitl; and those of the district of Sultepec de Alquiseras speak Spanish, Mexican, and Nahuatl.¹⁹ He also says the State has a population of 798,480; 51,199 whites, 287,056 mixed, and 460,225 Indians.²⁰ So the Nahuatl or Nahoa tongue is spoken today in three of the largest districts of the State of Mexico, which is bounded on the west by Michoacan, the home of the Tarascos, and

¹⁹See pages 55-150.

²⁰Ibid., p. 157.

the Otomi tongue is spoken in twelve of the districts of the same State. Here the Nahoas emigrants met and mingled with the Otomi family, and have continued to live among them till the present day. They doubtless went into Michoacan and Jalisco, among the Tarascos and Chichimecas, both of which tribes still have living representatives in their descendants located in these two States. Indeed, if there should be no further evidence of these families meeting, what is here pointed out would suffice to show the Nahoas and Otomies living together; but another State bears the same living evidence.

In his volume, *State of Guanajuato*, Velasco says of the inhabitants, that in the district of Hidalgo there are Otomies and Chichimecas who speak the languages of their names (p. 73); in that of San Diego there are Otomies and Chichimecas who speak the Spanish and their Indian languages (p. 77); in that of San Felipe are Otomies and Chichimecas who speak the languages of their names (81); in the municipality of Acámbaro there are Chichimecas and Tarascos who speak the languages of their names (p. 98); the same is true in the municipality of Tarandacuao (p. 101); in the *partida* of Comonfort there are some Otomies (p. 110); in the district of Cortazar there are a great number of Otomies, above all in the pueblo del Guaje (p. 115); in the municipality of Jerecuaro there are some Tarascos (p. 119); in the municipality of Coroneo there are Tarascos (p. 121); in the district of Salvatierra there are Tarascos (p. 130); in the district of Tarimoro there are Tarascos (p. 137); in the municipality of Yuriria there are Tarascos who speak the language of their name (pp. 141-142); in the municipality of Santiago Maravatio there are a great number of Tarascos (p. 144); in the municipality of Urangato there are Tarascos (p. 146); and the city of Guanajuato "was founded by Chichimecas who gave it the name of Quashuato, a Tarascan name which means mountain of frogs, and was given to it on account of the Indians having found there a stone in the shape of a frog, which afterwards became the idol of the Chichimecas. It is also believed it was due to the abundance of frogs in the settlement" (p. 156).

Here are fourteen districts and municipalities of the State of Guanajuato in which the Otomies, Chichimecas, and Tarascos still live, and the picturesque capital still bears the Tarascan name given to it before the Spanish came to the country.

Guanajuato joins San Luis Potosí from near south of Salsipuedes, along the Sierra Gorda parallel with the Bagres river, or Rio de Santa Maria, as commonly called along there, up to Jaral and on to the line of Jalisco, north of Vaquerio. This division line passes a short distance south of the city of Santa Maria, and the tribes of the Sierra Gorda there were much the same as those along that part of the Bagres. From the northwest corner of Guanajuato the dividing line between it and Jalisco passes between Los Lagos and Cerro Gigante, and most of the route of Cabeza de Vaca as drawn on the sketch from Santa Maria del Rio to this mountain is through territory of Guanajuato, passing through the district of San Felipe and into that of Leon. In both the municipalities of the former there were and are still Otomies and Chichimecas who still speak the languages of their name; and these were in a land of maize. Even now the municipality of San Felipe produces about 400,000 hectolitres of maize per year and 10,000 of beans; and that of Ocampo about 100,000 hectolitres of corn and 20,000 of beans. It was from this corn region of the Otomies and Chichimecas that the corn was carried up on the point of Cerro Gigante; and these people spoke Otomi and Nahoas, and understood Cabeza de Vaca.

East and southeast of the district of San Felipe is the district of San Diego de la Union, in which there are still Otomies and Chichimecas. These bordered on the south side of Rio Bagres. East of it is the municipality of San Luis de la Paz which joins the State of San Luis Potosí, and in its there are a great number of Otomies. It borders the line of the route designated for that of Cabeza de Vaca on the south side of the Rio Bagres. The district of Victoria joins San Luis Potosí on the north and the State of Querétaro on the east, and the population of each of its municipalities is largely Otomies. This finishes the south side of the line of San Luis Potosí to almost in front of Salsipuedes and to the northeast corner of Guanajuato and northwesterly corner of the State of Querétaro.

Of the language of the State of Guanajuato, Velasco says: "Nearly all the inhabitants speak Castilian. Among the Indians Otomi, Tarasco, *Pame*, Chichimeca, and Jarepecha (a Tarasco dialect) are spoken" (p. 253). And it has already been shown that the Nahoas were mixed with the Otomies as far south as the State of Mexico; and the Pames, a tribe of the Nahoa family, extended from the State of Querétaro north to Rio Conchas.

The State of Querétaro borders on that of San Luis Potosí, its district of Jalpam being the most northerly and embracing the part so adjoining San Luis Potosí. The major part of its inhabitants are Otomies and speak Otomi, and there are some Huastecos. It is quite a corn region, producing nearly 300,000 hectolitres of corn and 60,000 of beans yearly. Above the northwestern part of it is the region in which Cabeza de Vaca found the town with houses, beans, pumpkins, and maize already gathered. In the State of Querétaro there are about 65,000 Otomies, who still speak that tongue.

Of the language spoken in the State of Querétaro, Velasco says: "The majority of the inhabitants speak Castilian. Only among the Indians the Otomi and the *Pame* are used.

"The Otomi is a very sweet language, the alphabet of which is composed of thirty-four letters" (p. 108).

It may not be amiss to mention here how the Tarascos derived their name. Omitting the eloquence of the historian in coming to the point, Zamacois tells the story as follows:

"The nobles being contented to have among them the white men who had destroyed the power of the Aztec empire, they gave their daughters to them, which was the proof of fraternity with which those nations manifested their appreciation to those whom they considered as already of the family. As the principal men of the realm in the act of giving their daughters to the Spaniards pronounced the word *tarascue*, which in their language signifies son-in-law, the Castilians gave the Indians of Michoacan the name of *Tarascos*, by which they were known thereafter."²¹

Under such circumstances Cristóbal de Olid was readily enabled to found the town he had gone there to establish.

In order to appreciate the extent and importance of the Otomi race and tongue, it must be remembered that the Otomies were among the most powerful allies of Cortés. As soon as they learned that the Tlaxcalans had united with Cortés, they joined in the common war being made against the Aztec empire, and proved efficient and faithful allies to the Spanish chief. After the reduction of the capital of the Aztec emperors, and the return of the Otomi

²¹*Historia de Mejico*, Tom. IV, pp. 73-74.

caciques to their own territory, the two principal ones, after having received baptism, fixed their residence in Jilotepec, the chief city of the province of the Otomies. They were Nicolás de San Luis, a descendant of the emperor of Tula and Jilotepec, and Fernando de Tapia, of the first Otomi nobility; and they conceived the idea of conquering the Chichimecas of San Juan del Rio and Querétaro. They easily collected men and the other necessary elements to undertake the conquest, as all the caciques of the vast province of Jilotepec and Tula were their kinsmen, and most of them had embraced Christianity. Twenty caciques readily offered to follow them; and their squadrons being formed, they went to the conquest of the Chichimecas, who were scattered over the territory now embracing Querétaro, Guanajuato, San Luis Potosí, Zacatecas, and others, and which territory was then called the "Great Chichimeca."

On St. John the Baptist's day, 1531, they entered and took possession of the place where San Juan del Rio is now. They marched thence towards the present site of Querétaro, where a most singular battle was fought, which terminated in favor of the Otomies on the twenty-fifth of July, 1531. They captured many other places and spread the settlements of Otomies from Jilotepec and Tula northward into Querétaro, Guanajuato, San Luis Potosí, and parts of Hidalgo.²²

These were the people who had been met by and had mingled with the Nahoas family of the north, and had a common tongue with them, or, at least, understood the Nahuatl; and they are today a living evidence of the former existence of the Otomi family; and the Nahoas living in the State of Mexico and especially in the districts of Toluca, Sultepec, and Chalco de Diaz Covarrubias, are not only proofs of the former existence of their family, but also of their mingling with the Otomies.

For the purposes of this paper, it is not deemed necessary to examine critically all the signs indicating the land from which the Nahoas family came; nor is it proper to seize upon all that has been rashly affirmed by those little versed in the traditions or tongues of the family. The fact that tribes of this family were found in parts of Tamaulipas, Coahuila, Nuevo Leon, San Luis Potosí, and Hi-

²²An interesting account of this war is given by Zamacois, Vol. IV, pp. 548-554.

dalgo when the Spaniards came to the country, will suffice to show that if Cabeza de Vaca pursued the route indicated upon the sketch accompanying Part II of this paper he went through a country where the Nahuatl was spoken by the tribes. But, notwithstanding the fact of its being historically known that such tribes have existed along there ever since he went through the country *en route* to a land of Christians, it may not be out of place to notice what is said of this family by Señor Isidro R. Gondra in what he wrote at request of Señor Ignacio Cumplido, editor of the Spanish edition of Prescott's History of the Conquest. He says:

"The ancient and first inhabitants of New Spain, the Chichimecas, were savages and barbarians, going completely nude, and leading a wandering life, subsisting alone upon game without cultivating the soil. The Nahuatlacas (people who express themselves with clearness, people much more civilized, arrived from the North, where New Mexico has since been discovered, in which country there were two provinces, the one called Aztlan and the other Tecol-oacan. The industrious and civilized inhabitants were divided into seven nations, each of which had its separate territory. It is said they came out of seven caverns about the year 820 of the Christian era, and that their journey to Mexico lasted eighty years, they not having found the signs of the lands which their idols had foretold to them. In their transit, they cultivated the soil and constructed cabins in many places, leaving in them many people, especially old persons and invalids."²²

While this may contain some truth, it is mixed with Chichimeca and Aztec traditions not applicable to the Nahuatlacas, or Nohoa family. It combines parts of the traditions of the two peregrinations and adds that in reference to New Mexico from what the early writers told about the Coronado expedition. However, if the Indians met by this expedition among the buffalo were Comanches, they belonged to the Chichimeca family, and were not Nahuatlacas; but on the other hand, if they were descendants of the Nohoa family, then they were distinct from both the Chichimecas and the Aztecs, according to Gondara, and may have sprung from those left at some one of the cabins on the route of the Nohoa family, whose

²²*Tradition of the Nahuatlacas*, p. 22.

Aztlan may have been much farther north. Therefore, this degression may be ended with the suggestion that a comparison of the tongues of the tribes found in high latitudes west of the Mississippi with the Nahuatl, critically made by competent scholars, might develop many signs of kinship and cast some light upon the question of the true locality of Aztlan and Tecoloacan.

While it is believed that there is not sufficient similarity between the Mobilian and Nahuatl to prove that either sprang from the other, it seems that the Otomitl and the Creek or Muscogee are similar in some particulars.

It has already appeared that the greater portion of the early tribes found in Tamaulipas and Nuevo Leon were of the Nahoia family, and that they extended as far south as the Sierra Gorda. Those Cabeza de Vaca found at the end of the third day's journey after crossing the first large river, and who were lighter colored than any he had seen before, were of the Nahoia family and so were those at the foot of the mountain where he spent two nights. If he followed the route indicated in the second part of this paper, he passed through the Hualahuises, who were also of the same family. Those of Tanzocob were also of such family, and from there up the Bagres to Santa Maria del Rio he must have met Nahoias and Otomies and Tarascos who had also mixed with and learned the Nahuatl. The Liguaces on the right margin of the Bravo being of the Nahoia family, then if the Iguaces between the Bravo and the Gulf were the same tribe, with their name written by Cabeza de Vaca without the *L* they were also of the Nahoia family; and the principal Indian tongue Cabeza de Vaca had learned must have been Nahuatl, by means of which he was able to converse with all the tribes of Nahuatlacas he met on his route.

So if Cabeza de Vaca and his companions could understand the tribes of the Nahoia family, or, in other words, if they had learned a Nahuatl dialect, they were thereby enabled to converse with tribes found along the route designated from Jamaica Crossing on the Bravo to the Cerro de Gigante, where they found the town on the point of the mountain, whose people accompanied them to where they met Alcaraz. And they not only used a dialect serving such purpose, but in speaking of the tongue with which they and the Indians understood each other, Cabeza de Vaca says: "Which, for

more than four hundred leagues of those we traveled, we found used among them, without there being another in all those countries."²⁴

There where they met Alcaraz, then, we find them understanding the Indians in a tongue existing all along the route they had come, which answers the conditions above shown with reasonable certainty; and this seems to show that the route designated above, at least, afforded this general tongue spoken by the people along it, and which Cabeza de Vaca and his comrades understood. If there were other routes from where they left the Avavares before they crossed the first great river to Sonora and Sinaloa, along which there existed such a state of facts, those heretofore studying and writing upon this subject seem to have overlooked them; and this dialect sign of the route here adopted is submitted with the other *indicia* pointed out above to aid in making this examination as clear to the reader as a limited knowledge of the subject and the country to which it relates has enabled it to be done, but without claiming it to be as Nahuatl as might be asked by a Thomas among the readers of the *QUARTERLY*.

Now it may be proper to briefly notice the expression of Castañeda and Jaramillo about Cabeza de Vaca and Dorantes. The translation by George Parker Winship will be adopted, as in the main it is very complete, and fully conforms to the rule laid down by Francisco Lopez de Gomara, who says to the translators: "Yo ruego mucho á los tales, por el amor que tienen á las historias, que guarden mucho la sentencia, mirando bien la propiedad de nuestro romance, que muchas veces ataja grandes razones con pocas palabras. Y que no quitan ni añadan ni muden letra á los nombres propios de indios, ni á los sobrenombres de españoles, si quieren hacer oficio de fieles traductores."²⁵

Castañeda says: "He traveled four days and reached a large ravine like those of Colima, in the bottom of which he found a large settlement of people. Cabeza de Vaca and Dorantes had passed through this place, so that they presented Don Rodrigo with a pile of tanned skins and other things, and a tent as big as a house, which he directed them to keep until the army came up. * * * The

²⁴*Naufragios*, Cap. XXXIV.

²⁵*Historia de las Indias: A los Trasladores*.

women and some others were left crying, because they thought that the strangers were not going to take anything, but would bless them as Cabeza de Vaca and Dorantes had done when they passed through here."²⁶

Notwithstanding these expressions, wholly unsupported by any reason for using them, or showing from whom or how Castañeda got the information, the relation of Cabeza de Vaca repels the idea of his having passed that place; and, therefore, his own words will be presented as a proper answer to the theory of his having gone that way.

He was in the prickly pear region when he ran off from his one-eyed Mariame master and went to the Avavares, with whom he wintered in that region, among thorny, close chaparrals, where the wounds he received from the thorns, in his naked condition, caused him to contemplate the suffering of his Redeemer. After being separated from the Avavares for five days and reaching them again, he says: "And that night they gave me of the prickly pears they had, and next day we passed on from there and went to where we found many prickly pears, with which all satisfied their great hunger."²⁷ After curing the dead Susol Indian, he was given two more baskets of prickly pears.²⁸ And he says he and his companions remained with those Avavar Indians eight months.²⁹ After leaving the Avavares and going to where they ate the two dogs, believing they had strength to go forward, they left those Indians and went to where they found fifty houses, and there the people gave them to eat prickly pear leaves and green prickly pears broiled.³⁰

This not only shows they were still among the prickly pears, but that it was in the early spring, as the green fruit was large enough to be broiled for food, though still green, which is the case in the lower part of Zapata county sometimes as early as the twentieth day

²⁶Cap. XIX. *Fourteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology*, pp. 505-506.

²⁷*Naufragios*, Cap. XXI.

²⁸*Ibid.*, Cap. XXII.

²⁹*Ibid.*

³⁰*Ibid.*

of February. This was where they left the Indians crying for them.³¹

Leaving those who were crying, they went to where they were given the flour of mezquiquez, or mesquite beans,³² showing they were still among the mesquite growth. And from there they crossed the first large river, as wide as that at Sevilla and breast deep, and at sunset reached the hundred houses; which shows they were in a region of prickly pears and mesquite trees till they crossed this river.³³ From this place they traveled two days, reaching Indian houses each night, and on the third they arrived at many houses, where the people were whiter than any they had seen in the country till then.³⁴ Here they began to see the first mountains they saw in the country, which came consecutively from toward the sea of the north, and so, from the account given them by the Indians of the place, they believed they were fifteen leagues from the sea.³⁵ With these Indians they went from here toward these mountains, and when they arrived they were given ocher and some small bags of silver. Next day all the people there desired to take them to others, their friends, who were at the point of the mountain; but, after remaining over one day, they went along the plain near the mountains, which they believed were not far from the coast,³⁶ and at sunset arrived at a place of twenty houses, where they were given prickly pears and no other thing.³⁷

Thus it appears they reached the foot of this mountain the evening of the fourth day's journey from the crossing of the river, and the next day's travel put them at the twenty houses, where they still received prickly pears.

After going on to where the Indian physicians gave them the two gourds,³⁸ and thence along the skirt of the mountain a distance they

³¹*Naufragios*, Cap. XXII.

³²*Ibid.*

³³*Ibid.*

³⁴*Ibid.*

³⁵*Ibid.*

³⁶*Ibid.*, Cap. XXVIII.

³⁷*Ibid.*

³⁸*Ibid.*, Cap. XXIX, showing they had such there.

called fifty leagues to where they received the copper hawkbell, and another day's march over a mountain whose stones were *scoriae of iron* to the houses on the beautiful stream where they ate the *piñones*, Cabeza de Vaca says of the people: "They eat prickly pears and *piñones*."²⁹ And here they received the first buffalo skins, where there were prickly pears and *piñones*. From this place they made the journeys to the second large river, then through rough mountains and finally to the place on a stream flowing between some mountains where the captive Indian woman's father lived, finding houses with foundations, where the people ate maize and pumpkins, and thence in one day to the town of houses with foundations, where they ate maize and pumpkins, and were given skins of buffalo. Here the people went naked. From here they went up a river toward the sunset to find the place where maize grew all over the land; and they received cow hides along the lower part of the river, but Cabeza de Vaca does not mention seeing a buffalo after leaving the Avavares, yet does say he did not eat of their meat on his journey up the river.

So they were in the prickly pear region to where they got the first buffalo skins, and had left the Avavares when the green fruit was already large enough to be broiled and eaten, though green. They went to the latter place from the twenty houses near the coast, going inland, which was from the first mountain they saw, also near the coast. There is no mountain within fifteen leagues of the gulf coast in a prickly pear region north of the Rio Grande; and Pamoranes is the first so close south of it. So they must have gone inland or westward from the southern point of this mountain; for if there is another with such signs of identity, fifty years' acquaintance with the country has failed to bring it to the writer's notice.

This march being made in the early spring, if it had been northward from the Avavares, the natural conditions would have been very different. No mountain would have been found within fifteen leagues of the coast. Cabeza de Vaca's turn to go inland was near a mountain fifteen leagues from the coast in a prickly pear region, and if there is no such place north of the mouth of the Bravo, and the first one south of there is Pamoranes, then, at least, it may be said

²⁹*Naufragios*, Cap. XXIX.

that he was south of that river when he made this turn to go inland, and that he was still in the prickly pear region where he got the first buffalo skins, and inland from Pamoranes. And he had gone there from the Avavares after the prickly pear leaves and green fruit were large enough to be broiled and eaten. He accounts for eight days' journey and then fifty leagues more, say eight days more, and then one day over the iron mountain, say seventeen days' journey from where he crossed the first great river to where he ate the prickly pears and *piñones* and received the first buffalo skins. If these journeys had been from the Pamoranes northward, he would have recrossed the Bravo and have been in middle Texas, and it would have been about the tenth of March; and had he continued to travel in the direction of the great ravine near the Point of Rocks in Colorado on the old Santa Fe road, he would possibly have reached there in April after the time he claims to have met Alcaraz on the Pacific coast. But during this time he would not have eaten any prickly pears on such route; but on it, at that time of year, he would have found vast herds of buffalo beginning to go northward, while he does not mention seeing a buffalo after leaving the Avavares. He would have encountered snow on his way farther north in going to the Point of Rocks, if he reached that place by the first of April, though it is a thousand miles from Culiacan, where he claims to have arrived in April; and as he makes no mention of seeing snow after reaching Mal-Hado on the 6th of November, 1528, until he reached the City of Mexico, it may be fairly presumed he did not encounter it on his march after leaving the Avavares; for he does not even mention any cold weather after that, though he complains of a cold snap during the five days he was separated from them and his companions.

Without examining any other part of Coronado's route, the great ravine may be located from the account of his marches from Cicuye to it. The army "proceeding toward the plains, which are all on the other side of the mountains, after four days' journey they came to a river with a large, deep current, which flowed toward Cicuye, and they named this the Cicuye river."⁴⁰

"Mr. Winship's note 1 as to this is "The Rio Pecos." See *Fourteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology*, Part I, p. 504.

Here it may be presumed they went out through the Galisteo pass in the Jumanes mountains, which would put them on the plains after going through these mountains. Then they may have gone to the Pecos river about where Cuesta is, near where the Fort Smith and Santa Fe wagon road used to cross this river.

It is presumed that Mr. Winship had evidence for his statement that "the bridge, however, was doubtless built across the upper waters of the Canadian,"⁴¹ and it will here be presumed to have been near the mouth of the Mora, and that they went thence along the plain northeast of the Colorado fork to in front of Point of Rocks, which is the southern extremity of Raton mountains, not far from where the Santa Fe route crosses Utah creek. The head of this suits the description of the *barranca* or ravine,⁴² as it may well be compared to the most magnificent *barrancas* of Colima. And whether the fourteen days' march was from near where Cuesta is, close to where the old Fort Smith and Santa Fe wagon road crosses Rio Pecos, or from near the mouth of the Mora, this ravine or *barranca* meets the description better than any other in that region. The distance from Cuesta to the junction of Ocate creek with the Colorado, as well as now remembered, is not much more than one hundred miles, and thence east, along the old Santa Fe route, by the Point of Rocks, to the *cañon* or *barranca* is not over forty miles; and this whole distance of one hundred and forty miles might have been made by the army in fourteen days. But if the bridge was at the mouth of the Mora, and the fourteen days counted thence to the *barranca*, then it was not more than one hundred miles. If this is the *barranca* or ravine referred to, it is about longitude 103° 30' W. and latitude 36° 30' N., which affords a basis for calculation.

The first mountain within fifteen leagues of the Gulf coast, going toward Pánuco, or Tampico, from the mouth of the Mississippi, is in latitude 25° N. and longitude 98° W., and if the south end of it is not where the twenty houses were, then it would be necessary to go south to find another so close to the Gulf coast. So going north on longitude 98° W. to latitude 36° 30' N. is 11° 30', and thence west to 103° 30' W. would be 5° 30', and these two as

⁴¹*Fourteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology, 1892-93, Part I, p. 504.*

⁴²The following description is given by Mr. Egan, of Laredo, Texas.

base and perpendicular would give the distance from Pamoranec to the *barranca* or to the Point of Rocks, on a right line as over 880 statute miles. In going to the twenty houses from where they crossed the first large river, they were traveling five days, and must have arrived there about the first of March. If they there took a right line for Point of Rocks on the first of March and averaged ten miles every day, it would have taken eighty-eight days to reach the Point of Rocks, making them arrive there on the twenty-seventh of June, two months and twenty-seven days after the date of their meeting Christians, wherever that may have been. Again, if they had averaged twenty miles per day, it would have required forty-four days to make the journey, and they would have arrived at the *barranca* or Point of Rocks on the thirteenth of April, while it is generally admitted that they reached San Miguel on the first of April. But in their nude condition, with flocks of Indians deployed on the flanks, hunting for game, ten miles for every day, including all days of delays and stops, would be a high average. So the very nature of the country and known distance from the most northerly mountain within fifteen leagues of the Gulf coast being considered, it is not possible for them to have gone from that mountain to Point of Rocks at the south end of Raton mountains, and thence to San Miguel or to Culiacan on the Pacific by the first of April.

Another view must suggest itself to every thinking person while investigating this subject. If they had gone north from the first mountain within fifteen leagues of the Gulf coast, they would have traversed six hundred miles of buffalo range before reaching Point of Rocks, and would have been going with the buffalo on the spring return to the north, which would have rendered it impossible for them to have failed to see thousands of these wild cows. But Cabeza de Vaca does not tell of seeing a single live buffalo after leaving the Avavares to go to a land of Christians.

Again, if they reached San Miguel on the first of April, they would have had to reach the *barranca* before that time, and they could not have failed to encounter some very cold weather on the plains, which would have reduced them to that necessity, experienced by so many who have traveled on those plains, of having to use buffalo chips for fuel. But no such thing is mentioned in *Nau-*

fragios. Had the flocks of Indians, of whom Cabeza de Vaca tells, following and going with them, been of those wandering on the buffalo plains, they would have shown the Spaniards how to make fires and cook without wood. But Cabeza de Vaca fails to mention any such teaching, though he does tell how he got fuel out of the thorny chaparrals during the winter he was with the Avavares.

Every one living who was with the Sibley brigade in 1862, will remember the snow that fell in Albuquerque the night General Canby withdrew from in front of that place in April of that year. It covered the ground several inches deep, and men heavily clad suffered with cold; and had they been as nude as were Cabeza de Vaca and his comrades, many might have perished, especially if they had been out on the plains northeast of there without knowing the use of buffalo chips.

But Cabeza de Vaca's route from where he got the first buffalo skins was first along the valleys where jack rabbits were abundant and finally to houses with foundations, where they ate maize and pumpkins, while those at the *barranca* ate nothing but raw and badly broiled buffalo meat, of which Cabeza de Vaca and his comrades ate none after crossing the first great river.

Should it be claimed that the place where Cabeza de Vaca found the town on a stream flowing between some mountains, where the Indians had houses with foundations, or the one a day's march further on, was the *barranca*, then the fact of his eating beans and pumpkins there, when those of the *barranca* had nothing of the kind, and the further fact that those of the *barranca* ate buffalo meat and Cabeza de Vaca and his comrades did not, must be presumed to show an irreconcilable difference between the two places. And another marked difference is found in the fact that the people Cabeza de Vaca met there went perfectly nude, showing a warm climate, while those at the *barranca* were clad in skins and had large tents made of the same material, showing they were accustomed to cold weather. The fact of Cabeza de Vaca's leaving this place and going up a river which came from the sunset cannot be adjusted to the *barranca*.⁴³ But of the ravine and the hail storm there, Casteñeda says: "And broke all the crockery of the army, and the gourds,

⁴³See *Naufraios*, Cap. XXX.

which caused no little necessity, because they do not have any crockery in this region, nor do they grow gourds, nor do they plant maize, nor do they eat bread, but instead raw or badly broiled meat, and fruits."⁴⁴

On leaving the place where he called the people *los de las Vacas*, Cabeza de Vaca tells of thirty-five days' journey to where he was waterbound, going to the sunset all the while, and had this been from the *barranco*, or the Point of Rocks, it would have taken him across by Taos and to the Red Fork of the Colorado of the West, about where the old trail from Santa Fe to Los Angeles in California used to cross it, and had he then continued west to some mountain with a town on the point of it, where he got the maize, and thence still westward, to meet Alcaraz, he would have been about on Virgin river, in the country of the Pah Utahs, near where Fremont crossed it in 1844; so that his Culiacan would have been on the Sand Desert east of Owen's Lake.

The suggestion that the place where Cabeza de Vaca says they ate *piñones* might have been at the head of Utah creek, because there are *piñones* there on the declivities of Raton mountain, lacks the support of very important signs of identity mentioned by Cabeza de Vaca. The first is the total absence of prickly pears, there being none within hundreds of miles of Point of Rocks; and the second is, that the place where Cabeza de Vaca found the *piñones* was inland from the mountain standing within fifteen leagues of the Gulf coast, and was reached before crossing the second large river; and had they gone from Pamoranes, without recrossing the Bravo, they would have been forced to go around the head of it. The third is that Cabeza de Vaca makes no mention of any cold weather where he found the *piñones*, while if it had been at the head of Utah creek, the country would most likely have been covered with snow; and if he traveled northward from the Gulf coast, he would certainly have noticed the prairie dog towns for more than three hundred miles, and would have mentioned these animals along his march from the *barranca* instead of telling the jack rabbit story and fitting it to the country beyond Galeana.

The story of the German king's celebrated painting of a wheat

⁴⁴*Fourteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology, Part I, p. 442.*

field may serve as an argument here. He offered a valuable premium to whoever could point out a valid defect, and many connoisseurs, desiring to win the prize, as well as to add to their reputation, having pronounced it perfect, a farmer's son sought and gained admittance to the gallery, and readily pointed out the defect, saying: "Where those pretty birds light on the wheat in my father's field, their weight bends the stalks on which they light, but the stalks on which the painter has placed them are very straight." Though not a professional critic, he had seen wheat fields.

The suggestion that Cabeza de Vaca may have visited the *barranca* while peddling, is another idle thought, without considering any of the known collateral facts. While peddling none of the Spaniards were with him; and the only one he knew of was Oviedo, who remained on the Isle of Mal-Hado, and whom he visited every year. After meeting Dorantes, Castillo and the negro, he was given to the one-eyed Mariame as a slave, and did not peddle any more. So if he had gone to the *barranca* near Raton mountain while peddling, Dorantes could not have been with him; and the greatest distance he mentions going north after meeting his comrades was to where they ate the nuts, thirty leagues from the prickly pear region in which they finally left their masters and went to the Avavares. So it is presumed that the story of his going through the *barranca* with Dorantes is due to Castañeda's imaginative genius; as are many of the statements he makes.

The expressions of the bearded, blind man, given by Jaramillo, may be brought nearer the bounds of credibility. "Among whom there was an old blind man with a beard, who gave us to understand, by signs which he made, that he had seen four others like us many days before, whom he had seen near there and rather more toward New Spain, and we so understood him, and presumed that it was Dorantes and Cabeza de Vaca and those whom I have mentioned."⁴⁵

This implies that the blind man had an idea of New Spain and its direction from where he was; and from the statements of Cabeza de Vaca, it seems that those of Mal-Hado also had a knowledge of there being such a country. The old man may have followed the

⁴⁵*Fourteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology, Part I, pp. 588-589.*

buffalo south in winter when Cabeza de Vaca was the slave of the one-eyed Mariame and have encountered them and the Iguaces between the Nueces and the Rio Grande, or on the San Antonio river where they went to eat the nuts, and there met the four Spaniards, and learned of there being many such people farther south. Indeed, this old man may have been among those who Cabeza de Vaca says came down and lived upon the cows. All this was possible; and if the old man was a Comanche, then it is even probable, since his tribe roamed along the country between the Bravo and Nueces to the coast, and often as far south as where Victoria, the capital of Tamaulipas, is now. In fact, as late as 1818 they went down there, and on their return, on the left margin of the Bravo in front of where Matamoras is now, captured Victoriano Chapa, who was recovered from them at San Antonio, by the commandant of that place, in 1829, and is still alive. But as to the old man having seen the Spaniards "*near there*," that is, near where Jaramillo speaks of, and as to his statement that "*we so understood him*, and presumed that it was Dorantes and Cabeza de Vaca and those [he] had mentioned," it is fully answered in what is said above as to their having gone through the *barranca*; and needs only the application here of what Mr. Winship says: "But in trying to trace these early dealings of Europeans with the American aborigines, we must never forget how much may be explained by the possibilities of misinterpretation on the part of the white men, who so often heard of what they wished to find, and who learned, very gradually and in the end imperfectly, to understand only a few of the native languages and dialects."⁴⁶ Indeed, it seems one leading desire was to make it appear that they had found traces of Cabeza de Vaca and his three comrades, as evidence of their having followed their back track and being on the right way to Quivira, which was connected with the route of these survivors of the Narvaez expedition only by gossip first circulated in Mexico.

This blind, bearded, old Indian is perpetuated in the memory of letters, whether he ever saw Cabeza de Vaca or not; and possibly Jaramillo's imagination enabled him to "so understand" the statement made by signs, while the blind Indian who made them would

⁴⁶*Fourteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology, Part I, p. 394.*

not recognize the story if told to him by one speaking his mother tongue. But it is not to be presumed that any one would deem such a story sufficient to affect the route of Cabeza de Vaca as above presented, or to negative a single natural object pointed out as one called for in *Naufragios*.

Now, the fact is fairly shown that the people where Cabeza de Vaca says they were given buffalo skins might have had them in 1536, and that the great preponderance of evidence drawn from natural objects pointed out along the route both aids and corroborates the probability that the proper places are indicated. And it is believed that the exaggerations of time and distance in the *Naufragios* are shown with sufficient certainty to repel the idea of their proving a route thousands of leagues longer than the one here adopted.

As to whether the facts support the statement that Cabeza de Vaca went to Culiacan and there found Melchor Diaz acting as *alcalde mayor* and captain of the province, all said on this subject is submitted to the impartial judgment of the reader, with the suggestion that the main hypothesis in the statement is that of Diaz's then occupying such positions, and if this is sufficiently shown to be untrue, then the statement falls to the ground, and the wanderers did not go there.

While the statements quoted from Castañeda and Jaramillo amount to two isolated and discordant assertions as to Cabeza de Vaca's having gone so far north, what is said in refutation of the idea, is but to strengthen the position that the route adopted in this paper is, in the main, the only one deducible from all said in *Naufragios*, without further reflection as to the acts or motives which influenced the latter part of Cabeza de Vaca's relation.

REMINISCENCES OF JUDGE EDWIN WALLER.¹

P. E. PEARESON.

Author's Introductory Note.

This is but the "short and simple annal" of one of the early settlers of Texas, and of some of the scenes of her early history. It is written almost as it fell from the lips of an eye-witness of all therein described, and is offered as a leaf in the volume which will some day exist of the deeds of our Texas pioneers. As it has no other object, the simple statement of that fact is all the apology it requires.

RICHMOND, November 18, 1873.

"The broken soldier . . .
Sat by his fire and talked the night away,
Wept o'er his wounds, or tales of sorrow done,
Shoulder'd his crutch and show'd how fields were won."

—*Goldsmith.*

Exactions by the government, in the shape of duties and taxes from the governed, have ever been seed for revolt and revolution. We need not go beyond the American continent for authority to sustain this assertion. Unequal taxation and unjust duties germinated the revolution of 1775, the first budding of which was the famous Tea Riot in Boston Harbor. To this there is a striking analogy in the conception of that revolution which separated Texas from Mexico—a revolution which, comparing the men and means engaged, with the grand results, is almost without a parallel, and which, by a kind of Cæsarian operation, as it were, tore from the body of the effete maternal nationality Mexico, the blooming child Texas, and placed it as a young republic in the western world. Velasco was the Boston Harbor of the Texas Revolution, and the scene of the first chapter in its history. There, too, taxes and duties, unjustly demanded by the government, were the cause of the *émeute*.

¹This is a reprint of a pamphlet under the title, *Sketch of the Life of Judge Edwin Waller*, published at the Galveston News office in 1874, but which has become very rare. Who the eye-witness referred to was, cannot now be stated, but it is hoped the information may be given in a later number.—EDITOR QUARTERLY.

In 1832 Velasco was a Mexican post, garrisoned by near two hundred and fifty men, who were in a fort of circular form, having in the center a mound or raised plateau of earth, whereon the artillery was placed *en barbette*, so as to fire over the outer wall, and command a range on every side. This outer wall was surrounded by a fosse or ditch, and perhaps with something intended for *cheveaux-de-frise* or abattis. There were at that time several vessels trading between Velasco and New Orleans, which were engaged in exporting home articles and bringing in supplies to barter for Mexican bars of silver and other articles. Among these vessels was the "Sabine," which carried out the first cotton ever raised in Gulf Prairie, produced by Westall and McNeill, and was owned by Edwin Waller, then a young man, native of Virginia, who had visited Texas for his health. Up to this year no duties or customs had been demanded from persons engaged in this trade by government officials, but it coming to their ears that the commerce was becoming profitable, their attention was aroused, and the commander of the Velasco fort notified the captain of the Sabine, Jerry Brown, that he must pay certain duties, and procure a clearance for his vessel from Colonel Bradburn, then commanding at Anahuac, before he would be allowed to sail. This was demanding impossibilities, as there was no land communication with Anahuac, and the embargo thus laid prevented intercourse by water. Captain Brown reported this state of facts to Edwin Waller, the vessel's owner, who in company with Wm. H. Wharton visited the commanding officer, and offered to pay him a duty of fifty dollars, for permission for his vessel to leave. The official demanded one hundred dollars for the privilege, and this Mr. Waller refused, seeing the intention of the officer to blackmail him, and believing that to yield would be but to pave the way for future extortions. After speaking this opinion to the officer with more emphasis than deference, Waller retired, to consider upon the situation. Finally, he persuaded Captain Brown to agree to "run the blockade," and accordingly the plan was arranged to protect the vessel as well as might be, with cotton bales, that the sailors should hoist sail, the passengers to go below into the "hold" and that thereupon Wharton would unloose one fastening of the boat, and Waller the other, simultaneously, to give her as fair a start as possible. All of which was accordingly done, and the first "overt act" of resistance to Mex-

ican authority was committed by Mr. Waller's vessel sailing boldly past the nose of the fort, outward bound.

The sight of this daring violation of his orders excited the Mexican commander to vigorous action, and, forming his garrison on the bank of the river, he opened a fusilade upon the defiant craft, which did damage only to her rigging. Inspired by this sight, another vessel lying higher up the river, and commanded by Captain Fuller, set sail to follow in the wake of the Sabine, which, now being out of range of small arms, was seen crowded with passengers on deck, huzzaing and shouting in derision and triumph, among them one lady, a Mrs. Sweet, the sister of Samuel M. Williams. This so inflamed the Mexicans that they turned on Captain Fuller's vessel, and opened on her a heavy fire. Before the vessel passed out of range a shot from the Mexicans struck the tiller or helm held by Captain Fuller, wounding him; he immediately called for his rifle, intending to return the salute, when a young man, Spencer Jack, the uncle of Thomas M. Jack, of Galveston, asked leave to fire the gun, and did so with good effect, as he wounded a Mexican in the thigh. This worthy set up such a howl of pain and fright that his comrades ceased firing and gathered in disorder around him, under which diversion Captain Fuller sailed quietly on his victorious way. The ball being extracted from the limb of the fallen hero by an American (one Dr. Robinson, hereinafter named), and the wound proving slight, the warlike ardor of the Mexicans revived, and they at once arrested as the originators of this bold disobedience Colonel Wharton and Edwin Waller, and conducted them as prisoners inside the fort. Colonel Wharton, with characteristic sagacity and talent, soon argued himself out of limbo, but Mr. Waller proving more obdurate, the insulted commander sentenced him to be sent to Matamoras, to the tender mercies of the authorities there. After much trouble, and principally through the aid of Colonel Wharton, many good promises being exacted, Mr. Waller was finally and reluctantly released, and a hollow truce prevailed for a season.

When the Sabine sailed, Captain Brown was ordered by Mr. Waller to invest the proceeds of her cargo in two cannons, and to bring them back on the return trip for retaliation upon the fort in case of any hostile demonstration. The cannons did come, though too late to do duty at the storming of Velasco, and being dedicated to the

service of the cause, were placed on board a vessel which cruised out after war was declared, as one of the first men of war of the Texas navy, but never returned again to report her deeds. Neither ship, crew nor cannons were ever heard of again, and their fate is unknown.

This occurrence was really the detonating spark which fired the train of revolution; this was the capstone to the arch of national feeling which had been gradually growing in the minds of the American settlers; this was, in fact, the bud of the Texas revolution, as Boston had been before the revolt—the secession from England. The desire to resist Mexican authority was here aroused by the belief that it could be done successfully. “The first gun” sounded when young Jack fired and wounded the Mexican soldier.

Soon after this, a meeting of citizens was held at Brazoria, with Col. Wm. H. Wharton as chairman, and he earnestly advised decided measures, arguing that the spirit of strife had already been aroused; that Colonel Bradburn had confined American citizens unjustly at Anahuac; that the citizens, headed by Col. Frank Johnson, who had gone thither to demand their release, had failed to obtain it, and had met an unfriendly reception; that Spencer Jack had shot a regular soldier of the Mexican army, while in the discharge of his duty; that the people on both sides were excited; and that it would be better for them (the citizens), by a bold move to swoop down at once upon Velasco and storm and capture the fort and garrison, and so rid the section of Mexican authority. There was considerable debate upon this proposition, and the meeting finally agreed that the chairman should appoint a committee of five, a majority of whom should decide the issue of war or inaction. Colonel Wharton appointed as that committee Edwin Waller, W. J. Russell, Thos. Westall, J. W. Cloud (a clergyman), and — McNeil. These retired to deliberate on their verdict, and their first ballot showed Waller and Russell for war and the other three opposed it. Waller and Russell at length converted the clergyman to their faith and finally the committee became unanimous and announced to the people that their “voice was for open war.” The forces then assembled with Col. John Austin in command, and Henry Brown, a gallant officer and the father of the present John Henry Brown, as second in command, and this embryo “army of the republic” took up their line of march, about one hundred and twenty strong.

When we reflect that they were about to attack twice their number of well armed and well disciplined soldiers, heavily entrenched, and backed by the great Mexican nation, we cannot but admire their calm restlessness and cool effrontery. No doubt they trusted that Providence would enable them to give Mexico some reasonable excuse for thus attacking one of her forts, and that the chapter of accidents would aid them in capturing the fort, but still there was as much dashing courage and steady fortitude in the attempt as animated any *beau sabreur* who charged with the Light Brigade at Bloody Balaklava. It was purely sublime.

The "army" proceeded as far as Brown's landing, and there halting sent a "committee of invitation" to the commander of the fort with the modest request that he should immediately surrender his post and garrison to the invaders. The Colonel replied that "army regulations" demanded of him some show of resistance, but that after firing a few rounds on the assaulters he would gracefully surrender. From the *denouement* we are inclined to think this reply a piece of grim humor on the Colonel's part, and an ironical reply to the moderate demands of the rebels.

The besiegers then moved down, arriving at the fort about ten o'clock at night, carrying planks and spades wherewith to throw up a breastwork. The order was to move up to within thirty paces of the fort and thereby get out of the range of the cannon, which could not be depressed sufficiently to cover ground so near, and the men, if discovered and fired on, were not to return the fire, but to proceed with all haste to set up the planks and thrown up sand against them, so forming entrenchments, and then to await the arrival of morning and the schooner *Brazoria*. The latter was mustered in as a "gun boat" with two small pieces of ordnance, and commanded by W. J. Russell, now of Fayette county. This vessel was a New Orleans trading boat, and was impressed by the revolutionists for war purposes, her commander, Captain Roland, an Englishman, being friendly to their cause, but fearing to risk the vessel voluntarily. In the engagement following, the mate of this vessel, while sitting in the cabin, making cartridges by order of Captain W. J. Russell, commander, between Andrew Mills, a brother of Robert Mills, of Galveston, and then prominent as a revolutionist, and Theodore Bennett, was killed, a ball from the fort passing through his body, and was the only person on board seriously hurt.

The night was not dark enough to conceal the attacking forces, and they had just put their planks in position when the garrison discovered and fired on them. Contrary to orders, the fire was returned by one of Colonel Austin's party, one Robinson, before alluded to, and at once the firing became general. It may be said here of Robinson, who it seems was rather fond of the *oleum frumenti*, that his wife bitterly opposed his joining the volunteers, and in her irritation at his obstinacy on this head, she expressed the hope that the Mexicans might shoot him. Strangely enough he was perhaps the first Texan killed on the occasion. The fight continued fiercely through the night, and nearly every ball from the fort perforated the planks protecting the Texans, scattering splinters in all directions, and thus wounding many. Among others Colonel (then Captain) Robert H. Williams, of Matagorda, lost an eye from a splinter.

By daylight many of the attacking party were disabled, the guns of many more were clogged up, their ammunition was failing, and, to use the expression of a brave participant, they were "right badly used up." More than one of them, too, had "limbered to the rear" for safety, without "standing on the order of his going." Colonel Munson, the father of the present Judge Munson, of Brazoria, and Thos. Westall, had charge of the guard to "keep up stragglers," and by their coolness and steadiness rendered great service in the engagement.

The fort "flashed its red artillery" for a space, but the Texan riflemen soon silenced most of the guns. Their terrible precision so intimidated the enemy that they dared not stand by their pieces, but sponged and loaded lying flat on their backs under the guns. Even this plan was finally abandoned, for the unerring marksmen shot them in the hands and arms. The gallant war craft "pounded away" with her two pieces, but was unable to do perfect execution from the relative position of the combatants, and the fact that her principal ammunition was "trace chains," which, though generally useful, were not exactly suited to that purpose.

The work was principally done by small arms, and noticeable in the garrison was a company commanded by a German, which was posted in the ditch outside the fort. This detachment did earnest work, and finally, being out of ammunition, the officer ordered a

detail into the fort for more. To this the courage of his men was unequal, as in going into the fort they must necessarily be exposed to the deadly fire of the rifles. Enraged at their cowardice, the officer himself made the attempt, but fell almost the instant he exposed his body. This terrified the company, and they communicated the countersign to the fort, and then amid the wild huzzas of the patriots the white flag fluttered from the fort.

“And the red field was won.”

In the battle Edwin Waller was wounded in the head, and it is probable that his life was saved by his having tied around his brow a thickly twisted handkerchief, which turned or deadened the force of the bullet, but the concussion gave him a painful bruise and a pair of black eyes for several days after. Among others killed and wounded are remembered several from Matagorda county, a detachment having joined the Texans from that county, organized by S. B. Buckner and Robert H. Williams, the former of whom was killed and the latter wounded, losing an eye as already stated.

The garrison, after their surrender, were allowed to retain their side-arms and personal property, and some of them were sent by water to Matamoros.

This battle occurred during the supremacy of Bustamante, which was succeeded by that of Santa Anna, who, soon after his accession to power, dispatched five vessels of war, heavily laden with troops and munitions, to retake the Fort of Velasco, and to exterminate the capturers thereof.² This armament, with colors flying, and with

²The Mejía expedition. This sentence is misleading. The expedition occurred several months before Bustamante's supremacy had been overthrown. It was not despatched by Santa Anna, as the narrative here states, but was hastily organized by Mejía himself without orders from his commander-in-chief, and carried out with the approval of his immediate superior, Moctezuma. It came about in this fashion: In 1830 Bustamante, who had been vice-president of the Mexican Republic under Guerrero, and had driven the latter from the city, assumed the functions of the presidency. In January, 1832, the garrison at Vera Cruz had demanded the dismissal of Bustamante's obnoxious ministry, and had invited Santa Anna to take the lead against the Bustamante party. This declaration is called the Plan of Vera Cruz. Santa Anna accepted the invitation. In the civil war that followed, Colonel Mejía, in charge of a small force of Santa Anna's supporters, was conducting a movement against Colonel Guerra of the Bustamante party, who

grand display, sailed up and anchored off Velasco, preparatory to disembarking for the purpose of thinning out the inhabitants. This news of course soon reached the people of the country, and caused the wildest excitement. "Then there was hurrying to and fro"; the people sent runners with the tidings in every direction, and a convention was called to meet forthwith at Brazoria, to devise measures to meet the issue. The convention was held accordingly, and after deliberation, Colonel Wm. H. Wharton, as chairman of a committee, was sent down to Velasco to confer with the Mexican authorities, and endeavor to stay the threatened destruction. This gentleman, so distinguished in his day for sagacity and ability, adopted the wisest diplomacy for the hour, the plan of temporizing with the enemy, and in the interview which he held with the hostile chiefs, with all of the eloquence for which he was noted, set out the facts that the Texans had ever been loyal to the Mexican government, especially to Santa Anna; that the capture of Velasco was "only a party movement" against Bustamante, to show their deep devotion to the cause of Santa Anna; and that the whole affair originated in their admiration for him, and was but a pleasant way they adopted to show their loyalty. He welcomed the Mexicans to the country, and besought the officers to come up to Brazoria and partake of the hospitality of its patriotic people. The truth is, up to that time Santa Anna had not exhibited the objectionable features of his character, as he subsequently did, and it was generally hoped that, as President of Mexico, he would prove a decided improvement on Bustamante. The Mexican officers suffered themselves to be persuaded, and accordingly came up to Brazoria, where they were fêted and entertained in the most sumptuous manner, remaining pleased and willing guests, and finally departed, happy in the belief that the Texans were a most loyal people and Colonel Wharton a particularly warm friend of Santa Anna.

was in command at Matamoros, when the news of the disturbances in Texas led Mejía to propose, and Guerra to accept, an armistice between them until Mejía could lead his troops against the insurrectionary colonists and restore quiet. It was then supposed by these two officials that the attacks on Anahuac and Velasco were the beginning of a secession movement in Texas; but, as the story goes on to show, the fears of Mejía on this point were easily dispelled.—EDITOR QUARTERLY.

Although the officers commanding this expedition were thus blarneyed out of their savage mission by Colonel Wharton's *ruse de guerre*, yet their government was not so well deceived thereby, and in fact from the day that Edwin Waller's vessel ran the blockade and raised the embargo, and Spencer Jack wounded the Mexican soldier, there never was, between the government and the colonists any cordiality of feeling, nor anything save distrust and want of faith cloaked and hooded in pleasant speeches and empty compliments. On that day the spirit of revolution was born never to die again.

Shortly after these officers "marched up the hill and then marched down again," Almonte visited Brazoria and the surrounding country with a great flourish of trumpets and with the ostensible charitable purpose of inquiring into the needs and wants of the inhabitants; and, although he was everywhere received in the most elegant and courteous manner by the colonists, yet while interchanging compliments with his hosts he was secretly taking notes of the numbers, strength, and resources of the people, while they were as busily engaged in procuring and storing up powder and appliances of war for the "irrepressible conflict."

The first powder procured for this purpose was purchased by Wm. H. Wharton, Jno. A. Wharton, Edwin Waller, Robert Mills—all prominent and zealous "war men,"—Wm. J. Russell, and Jere Brown, and was stored away by them in a brick out-house owned by Mrs. Jane H. Long, widow of General Long, now a resident of Fort Bend county, and perhaps the earliest and oldest living settler of Texas.

There seems to have been quite a strong feeling of opposition in those days between the "war party" and the "peace party," and in the many meetings held by the people to discuss the war question, the different parties usually spoke their opinion of each other in terms the freest and most emphatic, so that in some of the stormiest of them, it really seemed that in the meeting, at least, war would certainly prevail, and that the members would commence hostile operations upon each other. Nothing serious, however, resulted from the "freedom of debate," and the meetings passed without any real violence. Among those who zealously and unwaveringly advocated the cause of war and freedom, Edwin Waller, Wm. H. Jack,

and the two Whartons, stood ever conspicuously together as firmly united politically as they were socially.

In the Consultation, as it was called, which met at San Felipe de Austin in November, 1835, and adjourned about a month afterwards,² Edwin Waller and Jno. A. Wharton were two of the delegates who represented the municipality of Columbia, and stood shoulder to shoulder in opposing the measures of Sam Houston, then member from Nacogdoches. In the first hours of the consultation, however, when Waller and others who had arrived found there was not a quorum present, and while awaiting the arrival of the Northern delegates, it was resolved by those present to form themselves into a military company, and to march westward to assist at the capture of San Antonio, which was then in Mexican hands. This was accordingly done, and the company, which Waller had joined, enrolled under Stephen F. Austin, who afterwards left the command to Wm. B. Travis, familiarly known as Buck Travis, who, with a small force, was then encamped on the Salado. While encamped here the enemy sallied out and attacked Austin's little army, but the sortie was handsomely repulsed, and so the warlike delegates had the honor of participating in the first battle fought in Western Texas, and of returning to their legislative labors crowned with the laurels of military conquerors. The army stationed here felt the necessity of some legislative action, and of the formation of some government under whose flag to fight, and which should procure for the troops the necessary supplies and munitions. Accordingly, they assembled soon after this battle, and by vote decided that the delegates should return to the Consultation. It is related as a reminiscence of the day that but one man voted against the return of the delegates—so greatly was felt the necessity of establishing a government—and that man was soundly thrashed by Frank Adams for entertaining such an opinion. The delegates did return, met there the delegates from Northern Texas, and formed the provisional government. It is worthy of note that all four of the delegates from Columbia voted in the Consultation for independence,

²The meeting had been called for October 15. The delegates, however, did not assemble till the 16th, and on the 17th, for want of a quorum, they adjourned to November 1, when the regular session began. The Consultation adjourned finally November 14.—EDITOR QUARTERLY.

upon which occasion Edwin Waller, being a prominent and untiring advocate of that measure, was told by General Houston in a speech that he and his colleagues would "find grapevines awaiting them at home," as a reward for their course on this occasion. The prophecy was doomed to be proven false by the vote of the same constituency by whom Edwin Waller was afterwards returned as a member of the Convention of 1836, where he was one of the committee which framed the constitution of Texas as a republic, and his name stands third on the list of the signers of that document. That of itself will hand his name down to posterity, for certainly the intellects which in that day, under the surrounding difficulties, conceived and prepared such a code of organic law as that constitution are as much distinguished in their field of labor even as those who died on the ramparts of the Alamo, or the plains of San Jacinto. The cool wisdom of the one is only equalled by the brilliant courage of the other, and as there were heroes in the field, so there were statesmen in the cabinet to set the young ship of State afloat on the tide.

We can not do more in this modest little sketch than allude to these services of Mr. Waller, which distinguished him among his compeers as an able man and a fervent patriot, ever ready with pen or rifle to aid the cause of his adopted land. On the completion of his duties by the adjournment of the Convention, he was free to buckle on his war harness again, and hastened to enter the field as a soldier of the army of General Houston. In this army he served until the close of the war, and the establishment of the independence of the Republic. On leaving Washington on the Brazos, at the close of the Convention, Mr. Waller had hastened to see after his family, whose home lay directly in the route of one division of the Mexican army, and on arriving there he found his family gone, and the Mexicans within a few miles of his house. One of his neighbors informed him that his family had left with that of Col. Wm. G. Hill. He at once set out to find them, overtook them, saw them safely across the San Jacinto river, and returned again to the army. The Mexicans revenged themselves for not finding the family at home when they called by sacking and pillaging the house and premises. Mayhap some of his old Mexican acquaintances of Velasco were in the command, and thus wreaked their revenge on one of the first men who dared to raise their embargo of 1832.

It may be mentioned as characteristic of the times that when Mr. Waller was alcalde of the municipality forming what are now known as the counties of Brazoria, Matagorda, Wharton and Fort Bend, he frequently commuted the punishment of offenders convicted of murder from death to whipping and branding, on account of his opposition on principle to capital punishment. In the exercise of this office he granted divorces, and exercised the general powers of a court of common law and equity, and it was indeed an office of great trust and responsibility. This was the only office filled by Judge Waller under the Mexican government, but with the establishment of the Republic, and frequently afterward, he was called upon to serve the people. He was at once appointed by the congress president of the board of land commissioners, Theodore Bennett and A. C. Hyde being his associates, to grant certificates for land to all those who had stood firm and trusty in the past dangers and conflicts. This duty was performed with his usual exactness and fidelity, and in a manner to increase Judge Waller's estimate by the people as a public officer. He was again put in official harness in the year 1839, when he was appointed as government agent to select a site for the State capitol, to lay off and plan the city, and to superintend and conduct the erection of the public buildings. The present capital, the city of Austin, was his choice, and the child of his skill and energy, now grown and matured, stands yet as the seat of government in Texas, a silent testimony of the modest but invaluable service rendered by Judge Waller to the young Republic.

The following is a copy of the official bond required of Judge Waller upon his assuming the duties of this position, the original bond being now in existence:

"REPUBLIC OF TEXAS, }
 "County of Harrisburg. }

"Know all men by these presents, That we, Edwin Waller, Wm. T. Austin, Thos. G. Masterson, B. T. Archer, Thos. J. Green, Wm. Sims Hall, Samuel Whiting, John W. Hall, Louis P. Cook, William Pettus, W. B. Aldredge, and Charles Donoho, citizens of the Republic aforesaid, are held and firmly bound unto Mirabeau B. Lamar, President of the Republic of Texas, and his successors in office, in the just and full sum of one hundred thousand dollars, good and lawful money of said Republic, for the payment of which,

well and truly to be made, we bind ourselves, heirs and executors, administrators, and assigns, firmly by these presents, sealed with our seals, and dated this twelfth day of April, A. D. one thousand, eight hundred and thirty-nine.

The conditions of the above obligations are such that if the said Edwin Waller shall faithfully and honestly perform the duties of agent for the seat of government, agreeably to the provisions of 'An Act entitled an act for the permanent location of the seat of government,' approved January 14, 1839, to which he has been appointed and duly commissioned by the President, then this obligation shall cease and become null and void, otherwise to remain in full force and virtue.

(Signed)

"EDWIN WALLER, [SEAL]

"WM. T. AUSTIN, [SEAL]

"THOS. G. MASTERSON, [SEAL]

"B. T. ARCHER,

"THOS. J. GREEN,

"WM. G. HILL,

"WM. SIMS HALL,

"SAM'L WHITING,

"JOHN W. HALL,

"LOUIS P. COOK,

"WM. PETTUS,

"W. B. ALDRIDGE,

"CHARLES DONOHO,

"Approved.

(Signed)

"MIRABEAU B. LAMAR."

The penalty of the bond was one hundred thousand dollars, and it was found afterwards that during his performance of this duty, Judge Waller handled over \$400,000. If anything in the way of testimony to his integrity were needed, more than the list of names signed to his official bond, as sureties for the faithful execution of his important duties, it is certainly supplied by the following letters written to Judge Waller, one from John G. Chalmers, Secretary of the Treasury, and the other from W. H. Collier, Acting Auditor:

"CITY OF AUSTIN,

"TREASURY DEPARTMENT, October 7, 1841.

"*To Edwin Waller, Esq., State Government Agent.*

"SIR:—Enclosed you will receive your bond as government agent

for locating seat of government, and in surrendering up your obligation, I beg leave to express my great satisfaction at the full and satisfactory manner in which you have adjusted and settled up so extensive and complicated a matter, a circumstance rather unusual with the agents of this government.

"Yours most respectfully,

(Signed)

"JOHN G. CHALMERS,

"Secretary of Treasury."

"AUDITOR'S OFFICE, October 7, 1841.

"*Edwin Waller, Esq.*

"SIR:—You are hereby notified that your accounts as government agent in erection of public buildings at the city of Austin have all been examined, and I find you entitled to receive a credit for moneys disbursed to the amount of one hundred and fourteen thousand, two hundred and forty-two dollars and ninety-five cents, and that you are chargeable in addition to the amount now standing against you, viz.: \$113,550, with the sum of two thousand, two hundred and fifty dollars, leaving a balance in your favor of four thousand, one hundred and nineteen dollars and seventy-three cents.

"Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

(Signed)

"H. H. COLLIER,

"Acting Auditor."

Now, if the honorable Secretary of the Treasury was correct in his statement about government agents, which we may well believe from our experiences of the present day, certainly Judge Waller has reason to be proud of his record as an agent. The secretary, in styling the mission "an extensive and complicated matter," did not name all of the difficulties which surrounded Judge Waller in his position. For, to accomplish his undertaking, he had but two hundred laborers, a motley crew, drawn from all the nationalities of the world—of all colors, classes and characters, and \$113,000 in Texas scrip; he was poorly supplied with the articles and appliances necessary to his work; his employes were wild characters; many of them turbulent and restless under control, and many of them unfitted for the labor. There was little if any protection from the weather, to which all were more or less exposed in all its variations and changes; with a *cuisine* which often boasted no more than "beef, and corn bread

ground on a hand mill, and water from the spring"; exposed to frequent inroads and raids by the hostile Indians; and acting as surveyor, treasurer, secretary, director and president combined, he was certainly surrounded by an array of difficulties almost as hard to overcome as "an army with banners." In the face of these obstacles, the work was begun in May and finished in November of the same year, and in such manner as to elicit the commendations above referred to. Among other incidents of the season, a party of Indians came in one night to where some of the men were camped near a creek named from Judge Waller, and yet called Waller's creek, and carried off as trophies a brace of scalps of the workmen.

The public buildings erected at this time were all of plank and logs and made of native timber, and in consequence presented no very classically artistic appearance, but were serviceable and comfortable. The city was duly laid off, and, when mapped out, one-fourth of the lots in the plan were sold by Judge Waller for \$300,000, which was quite a snug amount of public funds to be handled by an officer under bond for only \$100,000.

The erection of public as well as private buildings rapidly progressed, and on the seventeenth day of October, 1839, President Lamar, with a portion of his cabinet, arrived in Austin. This was a day of great rejoicing among the citizens. The president was met a few miles from the city by a large procession, headed by General A. Sidney Johnston (who was then Secretary of War, but who had preceded the president), and General Edward Burleson. Judge Waller had been selected by the citizens to receive the president; and as it is believed that his address will be read with interest, it is inserted as follows:

"Having been called upon by my fellow citizens to welcome your excellency on your arrival at the permanent seat of government for the republic, I should have declined doing so on account of conscious inability, wholly unused as I am to public speaking, had I not felt that holding the situation here that I do, it was my duty to obey the call. With pleasure, I introduce to you the citizens of Austin, and at their request give you cordial welcome to a place which owes its existence as a city to the policy of your administration.

"Under your appointment, and in accordance with your direction, I came here in the month of May last for the purpose of preparing

proper accommodations for the transaction of the business of the government. I found a situation naturally most beautiful, but requiring much exertion to render it available for the purpose intended by its location. Building materials and provisions were to be procured, when both were scarce; a large number of workmen were to be employed in the lower country and brought up in the heat of summer, during the season when fever was rife; and when here, our labors were liable every moment to be interrupted by the hostile Indians, for whom we were obliged to be constantly on the watch; many-tongued rumor was busy with tales of Indian depredations, which seemed to increase in geometrical progression to her progress through the country. Many who were on the eve of immigrating were deterred by these rumors from doing so. Interested and malicious persons were busy in detracting from the actual merits of the place, and every engine of falsehood has been called into action to prevent its occupation for governmental purposes. Beauty of scenery, centrality of location and purity of atmosphere have been nothing in the vision of those whose views were governed by their purses, and whose ideas of fitness were entirely subservient to their desire for profit. Under all these disadvantageous circumstances, and more which I can not now detail, a capitol, a house for the chief magistrate of the republic, and a large number of public offices were to be erected and in readiness for use in the short period of four months. Not discouraged at the unpromising aspect of affairs, I cheerfully undertook to obey your behests. Numbers of the present citizens of Austin immigrated hither, and with an alacrity and spirit of accommodation, for which they have my grateful remembrance, rendered us every assistance in their power.

"To the utmost extent of my abilities I have exerted myself and have succeeded in preparing such accommodations as I sincerely hope will prove satisfactory to your excellency and my fellow citizens of Texas.

"In the name of the citizens of Austin, I cordially welcome you and your cabinet to the new metropolis. Under your fostering care may it flourish, and aided by its salubrity of climate and its beauty of situation, become famous among the cities of the New World."

Judge Waller, after building the city, was elected the first mayor thereof and guided the municipal helm with as much credit as he

had managed his rough detachment of laborers. The attachment of these men to their old commander was afterwards exhibited in a serio-comic manner, which, with the accompanying circumstances, is well worthy of mention.

The party feeling between the "peace men" and "war men" in the days before the revolution had been very high and naturally produced partisanships and prejudices which outlived the issues that created them. As an "original war man," Judge Waller was early brought into direct and strong opposition to General Houston, who at first opposed war, so that when, after the war, Houston and Lamar were opposing candidates for presidential honors, Judge Waller took the stump for Lamar, who was an intimate personal friend, besides being of the same political faith. After the election of President Lamar, he nominated Judge Edwin Waller to the congress, as postmaster-general of the Republic. This nomination was very stoutly opposed by the Houston wing, and pointedly so by Governor Albert C. Horton of Matagorda, who had been an unsuccessful applicant for the position of government agent before mentioned. At the same time that the nomination was being discussed, Judge Waller's bill for erecting the State capitol was pending, and his opponents, especially Holmes of Matagorda, in commenting on the nomination, made this bill the basis for a severe personal attack upon Judge Waller, delivered from the floor of the house, by which Judge Waller was very much irritated. Having been privately assured by Harvey Kendrick, a most worthy and estimable man among the pioneers of the country, that the whole onslaught was conceived and matured by Governor Horton, Judge Waller demanded of him a personal explanation; and, upon Horton's denying any complicity in the matter and refusing to make any acknowledgement, Judge Waller attacked him *vi et armis, hilariter, celeriter*, and like another Rhoderick Dhu and Fitz James, they grappled each other, and "the engagement became general," as the army reporters used to say. They "tugged and strained" around the campers in front of the capitol, in sight of President Lamar, and the whole Texan congress, who took a recess to witness "the row," a sight which then as now, appealed to the deepest emotions of the Texan character. At first, Governor Horton, by his superior stature and strength, inflicted considerable punishment on his antag-

onist, who, however, struggled manfully for victory, while the congressmen stood around shouting riotously and boisterously, encouraging first one gladiator and then the other. This was rather undignified in them, but we must remember that the congress then was in its boyhood, and had not forgotten primitive simplicity and natural feeling.

At this stage of the game, however, the president was very excitedly and clamorously calling upon the members to "part them—separate the combatants;" but both houses ignored his veto, and yelled and laughed more vigorously than ever, or contented themselves with observing an "attentive neutrality." Now, although Horton had the muscle above Judge Waller, yet he was inferior in another important ingredient, to wit, "wind," and it was not long before the latter's superior endurance enabled him to turn the tide of battle, and Governor Horton at the same time, and to give the governor back his compliments with interest. Seeing this, and perhaps thinking he had supported the presidential dignity under trying circumstances sufficiently long, President Lamar brandished his hat fiercely in the air and shouted lustily, "Do not interrupt them, let them fight, let them arrange it without interference;" from which one would conclude that Judge Waller had at least the ear of the executive department in the issue.

The uproar had penetrated to the camp of Judge Waller's former employes, before mentioned, and the rumor reached them that the congress was murdering, maiming, or hanging their old "boss." They gathered like Clan Alpine, and "fierce as ten furies, terrible as hell," they poured in a stream to the capitol, in numbers enough to have "cleaned up" both houses and the executive and judiciary besides.

Perhaps the government of Texas was never in such actual danger of *bouleversement* as at this critical moment, when this battalion of *outré* stragglers "rallied on the reserve" to protect the "boss." One burly son of the Teutonic race leveled an argument *a posteriori* at Governor Horton, and others rushing in, the combatants were for the first time effectually separated, and when the judge arose from the sward, flushed and tattered, and seemingly "bleeding at every vein," the interveners raised a war-whoop which made the welkin ring. They asked to be informed of the names of his persecutors, who

was the man, and where he was, and in their excitement offered to pull down the capitol and thrash the congress, jointly and severally, as a slight testimonial of their affection for their old leader. Several speeches were required to pacify them, and they were not entirely satisfied that it was not their duty to preserve the "balance of power" by razing the building they had erected, and thus proroguing the congress until Judge Waller himself recovered breath enough to address them and explain the situation. Upon this they retired mollified, no doubt feeling that they had earned the gratitude of the members by sparing them. The passage-at-arms between Horton and Waller ended there, and they afterwards became warm personal friends, in verification of the sentiment of the old general in the *Lady of Lyons*, who always felt so much more affection for a man after fighting with him.

The ballot in the Senate on Waller's nomination resulted in an even vote, and the President of the Senate, Anson Jones, gave the casting vote for Waller, who was accordingly declared postmaster-general of the republic. This was a compliment to the ability of Judge Waller, inasmuch as Anson Jones was one of the Houston sympathizers, and was afterwards elected president through the influence of Houston and his party. Judge Waller retained his position as postmaster-general but a short time, when he retired from active political life to seek rural ease and domestic comfort.

In 1840, however, Judge Waller was an active participant in another of the noted and dangerous scenes of that period, namely, the Plum creek fight. An army of Comanche Indians, about four hundred in number, had extended one of their raids coastward, and reached the town of Linnville. They set fire to and burned down the town, leaving it in complete ruins, from which it never revived. First having plundered all the stores and warehouses, they murdered several of the citizens, and carried others off into captivity, among whom was a lady, a Mrs. Watts, who had but lately become a bride and whose husband was butchered in her sight.

Edward Burleson, Felix Huston, Ben McCulloch, Edwin Waller and others, assembled together what force they could, on hearing of this outrage, and started on the war-trail to intercept the marauders. In all, some seventy men from the vicinity of Austin, Victoria, Gonzales, and Seguin were in the company. The Indians were loaded down

with spoils and booty, to which they clung with great tenacity of purpose. Among other articles many of them had brought off blocks of gay and gaudy colored ribbon, and in the hurry of pursuit one end of the ribbon would become loosened and it would gradually unroll from the block and trail out behind the fleeing savages. It was indeed a ludicrous scene, the painted savages scouring across the prairies in terror, on their wild ponies, "bloody with spurring, fiery red with speed," and the lengths of glaring ribbons trailing behind them like the tail of a comet and hanging out as signals to the pursuers of the track of the Indians, and as proofs of their hellish mission lately consummated. When the whites came up with the Indians, the contest was short. Many of the latter were killed—nine in one slough where they had "bogged down," and all of their plunder, including dry goods and quite a number of mules and horses, was recaptured. Among the captives released by this victory were two white ladies, the Mrs. Watts spoken of and another lady whose name is forgotten, and a negro woman.

After the battle, the conquerors slept on the field, and with them eight or ten friendly Indians. These had busied themselves in their own fashion in looking after commissary supplies, and brought into camp quite a fine lot of "Comanche beef," to wit: Indian flesh. They attached especial importance to roast hands, one of which, nicely "browned" and done to a "crackling," they offered to Judge Waller, but he modestly yet firmly declined the savory morsel. The savages evidently pitied his ignorance of the virtues of roast Indian and devoured their whole supply with infinite gusto. One would think there could hardly be a doubt of the disputed assertion that the Carancahuas were cannibals after this *déjeûne à la fourchette*, made of "hot hand," so positively proved on them.

Although Judge Waller was solicited by the people of Travis county to allow his name to go before the people of that district as a candidate for congress, yet remaining firm in his intention of abandoning public life, and honors, he declined the nomination. Notwithstanding this, however, he came very near being elected by the voluntary votes of the district, which was a much more pleasant compliment than if he had been, after the annoyances and labor of a hard canvass, really elected.

After his retirement from the stirring scenes of his younger days,

Judge Waller filled for many years the office of chief justice of Austin county, in which he lives, and presided in his chair with such judgment and energy as to lend to the office some of the dignity intended to attach to it, but which, sooth to say, has been seldom seen there. His judgment was not only appreciated by the people of the county at large, but in the higher courts; his decisions in important matters, reviewed on appeal, were invariably affirmed.

From this post Judge Waller was again summoned to the front when the second revolution vibrated its war-cry through Texas. He was again sent to represent his people in convention, and with the same love of his State which animated him as a young man, in the convention which separated Texas from Mexico he, in his old age, labored in the convention which declared the ties between Texas and the United States sundered forever. When the Ordinance of Secession was passed by the convention, Judge Edwin Waller was the first to sign it. On the same list is the name of John A. Wharton, a descendant of those Whartons with whom Judge Waller's early history is so intimately interwoven.

This was his last political act, and is perhaps the only unsuccessful public deed in his interesting record. Since then Judge Waller has lived the life of a Southern gentleman, surrounded by those who delight to honor him. His residence is in Austin county, eighteen miles from Bellville, the county seat, where he superintends his plantation. Judge Waller was born in Spottsylvania county, Virginia, in 1800, and is therefore now seventy-four years old, though he appears younger, and is still active and strong in business life. He is with us as a connecting link with the past; his history, his name, is identified with the most interesting, the most chivalric period of Texan history, and with the lives of her best beloved sons; Lamar, Travis, Houston, Wharton, Jack, Austin, "have gone and left the world behind," and there are but a few of their fellow-heroes of that day like Edwin Waller left with us to remind us that

"There were giants in those days
 . . . men who of old were
Men of Renown."

A RETROSPECT OF SAN ANTONIO.¹

MRS. EMILY B. COOLEY.

To the student of Texas history San Antonio is Rome. All roads lead hither; all roads hence.

The first grant or deed of land in the city to an individual was in the year 1727. These grants or deeds were often verbal, depending for their proof on witnesses and occupation of the land. In May, 1749, it was decreed by Gov. Pedro de Barrio Junca Espilla that "from this time forward all titles, grants, etc., of any nature be put in writing to avoid discord," or, as the quaint old record puts it, "una Guerra." The first recorded grant of land was on Soledad Street in 1744, the same year in which the street received its title of Solitary.

It is said that the mortar used in the construction of the various missions in and around San Antonio, especially that for the domes, abutments and altars, was mixed with milk furnished largely from the *corrals* of private families, who in their holy zeal made daily sacrifices in order that the good friars might not be disappointed in the necessary supply; and the children, inspired with hope of what was to be a veritable St. Peter's are said to have toiled at piling the small stones and pebbles in smooth heaps for ready use, often handing them to the workers, who labored slowly but faithfully on. So grew old San Fernando.

Three sides of the stone wall which enclosed its church square, the first "Campo Santo" of the city, within which slept the dead of the parish, were torn away in the early seventies. The piece facing west is part of the original wall.

Just across Galan street, on the corner of Military Plaza, stood the building² that tradition says was honored by the presence of Santa Anna on the night previous to the occupation of San Antonio and siege of the Alamo. In this block was the old Cassiano

¹Read before the joint meeting of the Texas Veterans' Association and the Daughters of the Republic at San Antonio, April 21, 1900.

²Town down in 1895.

residence. It fronted east on Main Plaza, standing on the site now covered by the Southern Hotel.

The "Quinta," an old rock house used by General Arredondo in 1813 is a military prison for women, fronted west on Quinta street, adjoining, perhaps, part of the old Bowen residence.*

In the early days of the city, San Antonio river and San Pedro creek ran full and clear. The average width of the river was sixty feet, and that of the creek fifteen, and both were bordered with Tula grass stretching out here and there into great fields. As late as thirty years ago the Mill Bridge was a most picturesque locality. The river ford was full two hundred feet wide, with a sweep of crystal water from one to three feet deep, fed by a spring at Carcel, or Market street. Back of the old Losoya homestead on Losoya street, about fifty yards above Crockett, was another large spring and rivulet, and just north of the Commerce street bridge from under a huge boulder of limestone came a bold flow of pure water. Alas, what was is now no more; but the day brave Ben Milam and his followers crossed the "Ford of *los Tejas*," on their way to the "*Molino Blanco*," it was a river well worthy of name and fame. Locate this ford at the bridge, near the Lone Star Brewery, and the old mill a few hundred yards below on the west bank.

Of the Garza house, the south front and west corner are intact. Worthy of notice are the small window over the door, and the deep well. This place became the property of de la Garza in 1734. Mr. Leonardo Garza has the deed, which is dated 1771. From the signatures and transfers it seems clear that the house was built between 1735 and 1740.

The Navarro building, on the northeast corner of Commerce and Flores Streets, was torn down about two weeks ago. This building had walls three and a half feet thick, and was built of adobe,⁴ with red cedar rafters. On one of the rafters the date of 1728 was burned into the wood. This property was transferred from Veramendi to Navarro in 1838, according to the records.

*This location agrees with the Yoakum map.

⁴Adobe is really sun-dried brick, but common use applies the term to all the old rock buildings in the city, which are built of all sorts and sizes of rock and pebbles cemented together.

The Veramendi house is still standing, its facade marred by advertisements and a tin awning. The zaguan, or entrance hall, is one of two belonging to the eighteenth century left in the city. The other is that of the Alamo. Some ten years ago the Veramendi doors were covered with a coat of green paint and marked with the words, "These doors have swung on their pivots since 1720." I have not been able to verify this date. The consensus of opinion among those in a position to know would make it about ten years later. Just beyond the entrance fell Milam. Yoakum says, "Milam was buried where he fell," but local tradition says it was under a group of fig-trees on the slope to the river, and that his remains were afterwards removed to the old Protestant cemetery, now Milam Park, where he still sleeps—if not exactly under the stone erected to his memory, certainly within twenty feet of it.

East Commerce street was called the "Alameda" as late as 1875, and on this street, in the vicinity of St. Joseph's church, tradition tells of a huge grave filled with the mortal remains of the heroes of the Alamo. How many such graves are all around us—brave dead, whose names are never, and never will be, seen or heard, who faltering not in the path of duty respond only to the roll call from above.

NOTICES.

The publications of the Southern History Association for May, in addition to copious *Reviews and Notices*, contain several valuable articles. Congressman Stoke's plan for investigating "the character and condition of the archives and public records of the several States and Territories, and of the United States," is commented upon. Under the title of *Anecdotes of General Winfield Scott*, Gen. Hamilton gives several interesting incidents touching the life of this great man. *The Journal of Thomas Nicholson* describes his visit to his brethren, the Friends, on the Cape Fear, in 1746, and his visit to England in 1749. Of greatest value, perhaps, is the paper by D. R. Goodloe, entitled *The Purchase of Louisiana, and How it was Brought About*.

The April number of the American Historical Review contains the following articles: *The Problem of the North*, a study in English border history, by G. T. Lapsley; *Social Compact and Constitutional Construction*, by A. C. McLaughlin; *The United States and Mexico, 1847-1848*, by E. G. Bourne; and *The Chinese Immigrant in Further Asia*, by F. W. Williams. The document, *A Memorandum of M. Austin's Journey from the Lead Mines in the County of Wythe, in the State of Virginia, to the Lead Mines in the Province of Louisiana, West of the Mississippi, 1796-1797*, is of particular value. Introduced by a sketch of Moses Austin's life, written by his son, Stephen F., the journal is itself a rich commentary upon the character of the man who took the initiative in the Anglo-American colonization of Texas.

NOTES AND FRAGMENTS.

THE BEXAR ARCHIVES are now deposited in the vault of the University. Their classification has begun, and when it is finished they will be more available for investigation; but the work is a tedious one, and will consume a long time. The translation, which is a still larger task, is also to be pushed as rapidly as possible, but until the University can give more help for the purpose, it will go on but slowly.

THE LAMAR PAPERS.—The collection of documents made by President Lamar has been lately received by the State Librarian. Several years ago these papers were placed by Mrs. Lamar in the hands of Dr. J. W. Palmer, of Baltimore, to be edited for publication, but for some reason the plan was not carried out, and Mrs. Calder, the daughter of President Lamar, has secured the return of the papers, and has had them deposited for the time in the State capitol building. The collection fills a box measuring some six or eight cubic feet. No list nor general description of the papers has been transmitted, so far as their present custodian is aware, but some documents not known to exist elsewhere have been found among them. President Lamar was a scholarly man, and knew what was best worth gathering and preserving. It may be assumed, therefore, that the collection is of real value. More definite information concerning it will be given in a future number of THE QUARTERLY.

AFFAIRS OF THE ASSOCIATION.

Gen. Felix H. Robertson of Waco contributes to the Association's collection of relics a desk once owned by Judge R. T. Wheeler, of the first Supreme Court of Texas. The gift has not been received, but is expected soon.

Mrs. Cornelia Branch Stone adds to the collection of the Association three copies of the "Magnolia Weekly," dated respectively August 13, 1864; August 20, 1864; and February 11, 1865, published at Richmond, Va. They contain various war notes and other items of interest.

Mr. A. Y. Walton of San Antonio sends for the library of the Association a pamphlet copy of the *Informe Oficial* of Viceroy Revilla-Gigedo to the King of Spain relative to the condition of the Texas missions in 1793. This is one of the most valuable sources for the history of the missions, and the gift is thankfully accepted.

Mr. H. A. McArdle of San Antonio, the well known artist, has given the Association a letter from Capt. R. M. Potter to himself, written in 1881, which contains an interesting account of the escape of the Texas commissioners, Karnes and Teal, from Matamoros in the fall of 1836. The letter will be published in the October QUARTERLY, and the original will be preserved in the vault of the University.

REPORT OF THE FOURTH ANNUAL MEETING.

The fourth annual meeting of the Association was held in Room 54 of the Main Building of the University of Texas, Austin, June 21, 1900, at 10 a. m., President Reagan in the chair. Judge Z. T. Fulmore read a paper on *The Causes of the Mexican War*, and Dr. W. F. McCaleb one on *The First Period of the Gutierrez-Magee Expedition*. The paper of Miss Elizabeth West, on *The Picturesque Side of Protestantism in the Republic*, was read by title.

Mrs. Cornelia Branch Stone of Galveston, on behalf of Mrs. Sallie Sawyer Ayres of Washington, D. C., then presented to the

Association a fac-simile of the great seal of the Confederate States,¹ which was received by President Reagan. In reference thereto the following resolution was adopted:

Resolved, That the thanks of the Association are hereby tendered Mrs. Sallie Sawyers Ayres and Mrs. Cornelia Branch Stone for the fac-simile of the great seal of the Confederacy generously given it by the former through the agency of the latter.

A similar resolution was adopted relative to the gift by Mr. J. W. Darlington, of Taylor, of a painting of the first capitol building of the Republic erected in Austin.²

The Association then proceeded to the election of officers for the year 1900-1901. Judge John H. Reagan was elected President, and Hon. Guy M. Bryan, Mrs. Julia Lee Sinks, ex-Gov. F. R. Lubbock and T. S. Miller, Esq., were elected Vice-Presidents in the order given. Mr. L. G. Bugbee was elected Corresponding Secretary and Treasurer.; Judges Z. T. Fulmore and John C. Townes were elected Members of the Council from the Fellows, Judge Fulmore for the term ending in 1903, and Judge Townes to fill the unexpired term of Judge Raines, resigned.³ Dr. Rufus C. Burleson was elected from the members to serve on the Council for the term ending in 1905.

The Association then adjourned.

¹Mrs. Aydes writes that the original seal is a block of silver about two inches thick, which she understands to be now in the possession of a United States army officer; that Col. John T. Pickett, of Kentucky, had the reproductions made; and that she recently purchased from his son all that remained of them. With each reproduction goes a certificate from J. S. and A. B. Wyon, chief engravers of her Majesty's seals, whose predecessor, Joseph S. Wyon, engraved the original in 1864 for James M. Mason, then representing the Confederate States in London. The certificate states that the reproduction must be correct for the reason that its impression is the same as that which the Wyons have preserved from the original, of which they have never made a duplicate.

²Mr. Darlington, who was one of the builders, gave the assurance that the painting, though executed only from descriptions furnished by himself, is a faithful representation of the old capitol. President Reagan, who knew the building well, added his testimony to the same effect.

³Judge Raines became, by his appointment at State Librarian, an *ex-officio* member of the Council, and has therefore given up his place as an elected member.

Affairs of the Association.

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REPORT OF TREASURER FOR THE YEAR ENDING JUNE, 1900.

RECEIPTS.

	Balance on hand at last report.....	\$	4 93
1	membership dues for year ending March 2, 1898..	\$	2 00
5	June, 1898.....		10 00
7	December, 1898.....		14 00
10	March 2, 1899....		20 00
29	June, 1899.....		58 05
55	December, 1899.....		110 00
47	March 2, 1900....		93 00
338	June, 1900.....		676 30
47	December, 1900.....		94 00
9	March, 1901.....		18 00
8	June, 1901.....		16 00
2	March, 1902.....		3 00
1	March, 1903.....		2 00
1	March, 1904.....		2 00
<hr/>			
560	membership dues.....		1118 35
1	fellowship dues for year ending March, 1898.....		5 00
1	December, 1898....		5 00
1	March, 1899.....		5 00
1	June, 1899.....		5 00
1	December, 1899..		5 00
5	March, 1900.....		25 25
5	June, 1900.....		25 00
<hr/>			
15	fellowship dues.....		75 25
	Advertisements (see p.....)		22 00
	Sale of Quarterly.....		19 70
	Contribution from Judge B. Coopwood.....		50 00
	Borrowed from bank (note dated Feb. 10).....		196 50
<hr/>			
	Total.....	\$	1486 73

EXPENDITURES.

Vouchers.	Date.		
<hr/>			
No. 31	1899. June 26	Bethel Coopwood— One-half year's dues overpaid refunded...	\$ 1 00
32		Ben C. Jones & Co.—	
35	June 23	Wrappers, \$2.30; 2000 envelopes, \$5.00; wrapping Quarterly, \$1.50; postage on Quarterly, \$7.75.....	16 55
33	June 24	R. L. Preslar— Drayage.....	75
34	June 25	U. S. Postoffice— 500 1-cent stamps, \$5.00; 500 2-cent stamps, \$10.00.....	15 00
36	June 24	City National Bank— Collecting 5 checks.....	50
37	June 26	Miss Ida M. Meade— Commissions.....	5 00

EXPENDITURES—continued.

Vouchers.	Date.		
38	July 17	Eugene C. Barker— Cataloguing and other clerical work, \$2.00; 2 copies Quarterly, \$1.00.....	\$ 3 00
39	July 18	Miss Ida M. Meade— Commissions.....	10 00
40	July 20	Corner Book and Stationery Co.—	
75	Dec. 16	Quart paste, .75; $\frac{1}{2}$ doz. box files, \$1.50; Quart paste, .75.....	3 00
41	July 24	U. S. Postoffice— 750 2-cent stamps.....	15 00
42	July 24	Pacific Express Co.— Express charges on packages to Miss Meade, Dallas.....	55
43	Aug. 4	Eugene C. Barker— Addressing Quarterly; bills; cataloguing.	5 70
44	Aug. 4	U. S. Postoffice— 500 2-cent stamps.....	10 00
45	Aug. 4	R. S. Preslar— Drayage.....	25
46	Aug. 4	U. S. Postoffice— Postage on Quarterly.....	3 50
47	July 5	Ben C. Jones & Co.— 8000 wrappers, \$6.00; 8000 envelopes, \$12.00; 8000 circulars, \$15.00; 8000 slips, \$7.75.....	40.75
		1200 circulars, \$3.00 1000 envelopes, \$1.75.....	4.75
	July 20	3000 note heads, \$6.50; 20 paper weights, \$1.30.....	7.80
	July 24	1000 T. W. heads, \$2.50; 1100 wrap- pers, \$2.25.....	4.75
	July 6	28 sheets hard pan, .75; 112 sheets do., \$3.08.....	3.83
			61 88
48	Aug. 18	City National Bank— Note, dated June 7.....	50 50
49	Aug. 18	City National Bank— Collecting 2 checks.....	20
50	Aug. 22	U. S. Postoffice— 500 1-cent stamps, 5.00; 500 2-cent stamps, \$10.00.....	15 00
51	Aug. 24	Wells-Fargo & Co.'s Express— Expressage on package to Miss Meade, Dallas.....	50
52	Aug. 24	U. S. Postoffice— Postage.....	33
53	June 17	E. W. Winkler—	
	June 19	Clerical help, addressing Quarterly.....	1 25
54	Sept. 2	City National Bank— Stamped checks.....	2 00
55	Sept. 1	Ben. C. Jones & Co.— Postage on Quarterly.....	5 80
56	Sept. 8	Eugene C. Barker— Clerical Work, sending bills.....	3 50

EXPENDITURES—continued.

Vouchers.	Date.		
57	Sept. 9	U. S. Postoffice— 500 1-cent stamps, \$5.00; 500 2-cent stamps, \$10.00.....	\$ 15 00
58	July 29	Ben C. Jones & Co.— The July Quarterly; printing, etc.....	144 80
59	Sept. 16	Miss Ida M. Meade— Commission.....	50 00
60	Oct. 20	Miss Ida M. Meade— Commission.....	15 00
61	Oct. 23	Miss Ida M. Meade— Commission.....	32 00
62	Oct. 1	Ben C. Jones & Co.— 5500 envelopes, \$11.00; 800 circulars, \$2.75; 2000 slips, \$3.00; 1200 cards, \$3.50.....	20 25
63	Oct. 24	Ben C. Jones & Co.— October Quarterly; printing, etc.....	148 25
64	Nov. 2	City National Bank— Note, dated Feb. 20, renewed April 21....	131 00
65	Nov. 1	City National Bank— 100 2-cent revenue stamps.....	2 00
66	Dec. 20	U. S. Postoffice— 500 1-cent stamps, \$5.00; 500 2-cent stamps, \$10.00.....	15 00
67	Dec. 27	Miss Ida M. Meade— Commission.....	50 00
68	Dec. 27	T. A. Bordin— Drayage.....	50
69	Dec. 29	U. S. Postoffice— 500 1-cent stamps.....	5 00
70	1900. Jan. 2	A. L. Williamson— Clerical help; addressing circulars.....	6 95
71	Jan. 2	P. T. Miller— Clerical help; addressing circulars.....	2 25
72	Jan. 2	Mat Glover— Clerical help; addressing circulars.....	5 00
73	Jan. 2	A. A. Cother— Clerical help; addressing circulars.....	6 50
74	Jan. 15	Pacific Express Co.— Charges on package from Bloomington, Ill.....	45
75		[Included in Voucher No. 40]	
76	Jan. 17	Austin Photo-Engraving Co.— Engraving plate, \$9.00; map \$13.70.....	22 70
77	Jan. 20	U. S. Postoffice— Postage on Quarterly and circulars.....	4 00
78	Jan. 30	Eugene Von Boeckmann Publishing Co.— Cash box.....	75
79	Jan. 29	U. S. Postoffice— 500 2-cent stamps.....	10 00
80	Feb. 10	U. S. Postoffice— 500 1-cent stamps.....	5 00
81	Feb. 10	Thomas Fletcher— Clerical work; addressing and mailing.....	3 50

EXPENDITURES—continued.

Vouchers.	Date.		
82	1899. Oct. 12	Ben C. Jones & Co.— 1200 wrappers, \$1.50; 25 reprints, \$4.75.....	\$ 6.25
	Oct. 27	10,000 wrappers, \$7.50; 8 pp. reprint (10,000) \$47.50; 10,000 slips, 61.00 10,000 envelopes, \$13.50.....	13.50
	Nov. 17	Binding, \$1.25; postage, drayage, etc., \$7.95.....	9.20
	Dec. 27	900 circulars, \$2.00; 900 envelopes, \$2.15.....	4.15
			\$94.10
		Less rebate on reprints, \$10.00; error in last year's report, \$3.00.	13.00
83	Dec. 28	Von Boeckmann, Schutze & Co.— 2500 circulars, \$10.00; 1000 pro- grams, \$3.00; 800 circulars, \$2.00; \$15.00 January Quarterly; printing, etc.; reprints; postage, etc.....	185.50
84	1900. Feb. 13	L. K. Smoot— July, 1899, Quarterly.....	1 00
85	Feb. 15	R. A. Sexton— Clerical work.....	4 80
86	Feb. 27	U. S. Postoffice— Postage (142 pounds).....	1 42
87	Feb. 24	U. S. Postoffice— 500 1-cent stamps, \$5.00; 500 2-cent stamps, \$10.00.....	15 00
88	1899. Dec. 29	City National Bank— Charges on collecting 74 drafts (by City National Bank).....	7 40
89	1900. Mar. 26	J. H. Tallichet— July, 1898, Quarterly.....	1 00
90	Mar. 29	J. B. Nabors— July, 1898 Quarterly, \$1.00; January, 1898, Quarterly, \$1.00.....	2 00
91	April 2	J. S. Campbell— July, 1898, (or January, 1898) Quarterly	1 00
92	Feb. 10	Von Boeckmann, Schutze & Co.— 1500 envelopes, \$3.50.....	\$3.50
	Mar. 6	2000 circulars, \$4.50; 1000 envel- opes, \$2.25; 1000 heads, \$2.25	9.00
	Mar. 10	1500 slips.....	1.50
93	April 20	U. S. Postoffice— 500 1-cent stamps, \$5.00; 500 2-cent stamps, \$10.00.....	15 00

EXPENDITURES—continued.

Vouchers.	Date.		
94	May 18	U. S. Postoffice— 300 1-cent stamps, \$3.00; 850 2-cent stamps, \$17.00.....	\$ 20 00
95	June 8	U. S. Postoffice— 400 2-cent stamps, \$8.00; 1200 1-cent stamps, \$12.00.....	20 00
96	June 1	Von Boeckmann, Schutze & Co.— March Quarterly.....	118 26
97	1899. Nov. 1	Charges on collecting drafts.....	2 15
Total.....			\$1430 87
Balance, cash on hand June 15, 1900			55 86
			\$1486 73

Respectfully submitted,

LESTER G. BUGBEE, Treasurer.

Approved June 26, 1900.

C. W. RAINES, Auditing Committee.

LIBRARIAN'S REPORT FOR 1899-1900.
ACCESSIONS DURING THE YEAR.

AUTHOR.	TITLE.	Vols.	Pamphs.	DONOR.
H. T. Montgomery, M. D.	Glacial Phenomenon of Northern Indiana and Southern Michigan. Forty-Seventh Annual Report of Boston Library. Papers and Records of the Ontario Historical Society, Volume 1.		1 1 1	Indiana Historical Society. Boston Library. The Society.
F. G. Young	Sources of the History of Oregon.		1	The University of Oregon.
F. B. Lloyd, Editor	Selections from the Writings of Rufus Sanders	1	1	The Editor.
F. L. Riley, Editor	Publications of the Mississippi Historical Society, Volume 2.		1	The Society.
D. D. Owen, M. D.	Geological Reconnaissance of Indiana		1	University of Wisconsin.
J. B. Sanborn	Congressional Grants to Railroads	1	1	Frank G. Newton.
Theo. Harris	Charter and Ordinances of San Antonio, Texas	1	1	The Association.
W. D. Wood	Publications of Alabama Historical Associations, Volume 2. Partial Roster of Confederates Raised in Leon County, Texas. U. S. vs. Choctaw and Chickasaw Nations, etc. 11th Annual Report of Statistics of Railways. Annual Report of American Historical Association, 1898. Michigan School Master's Club, Conference in Physics.		1 1 1 1 1 1	The Author. Department of Interior. The Association. The University of Michigan. Illinois Historical Society. " " " " " " The Society.
Edmund J. James	Newspapers in Illinois Prior to 1860	1	1	
Edmund J. James	Territorial Laws of Illinois, 1809-12		1	
	Fifth Biennial Report of Trustees of Illinois State Historical Library.		1	
	Historical Collections of Essex Institute, Vol. 25. ...		1	

LIBRARIAN'S REPORT—continued.

AUTHOR.	TITLE.	Vols.	Pamphs.	DONOR.
	Transactions of McLean County, Ill., Historical Society, Vol. 6.	1		The Society.
	Letters from Victorian Pioneers.	1	1	Melbourne Hist. Association.
	Proceedings of the Bostonian Society.		1	The Society.
	47th Annual Report of Wisconsin Historical Society.			"
	English Common Law in Early American Colonies.	1	1	University of Wisconsin.
Paul Samuel Reinsch....	Six Decades in Texas	1		F. R. Lubbock.
C. W. Raines, Editor....	Cynthia Ann Parker	1		The Author.
J. T. De Shields.....	The Chultunes of Labria, Yucatan		1	Peabody Museum (Harvard).
Edward H. Thompson....	Cave of Loltun, Yucatan		1	"
Edward H. Thompson....	Researches in the Uloa Valley, Honduras.—		1	"
George Byron Gordon....	Caverns of Copan, Honduras.		1	"
	Prehistoric Ruins of Copan, Honduras.		1	"
Zelia Nuttall.....	Standard or Head-Dress?		1	"
Zelia Nuttall.....	The Atlatl or Spear Thrower of the Ancient Mexicans.		1	"
Charles C. Willoughby....	Prehistoric Burial Places in Maine.		1	"
H. T. Cresson.....	Pile Structures in Naaman's Creek		1	"
Albert S. Gatschet.....	The Karankawa Indians.		1	"
Alice C. Fletcher.....	Omaha Indians Music		1	"
	Guide to the Peabody Museum			"
Capt. Alfred Pirtle.....	The Battle of Tippecanoe.		1	The Filson Club.
	Report of Commissioner of Agriculture (1864)	1		Judge J. P. Richardson.
	Report of Commissioner of Agriculture (1865)	1		"
	Report of Commissioner of Agriculture (1866)	1		"
	Report of Commissioner of Agriculture (1868)	1		"
	Report of Commissioner of Agriculture (1870)	1		"
	Report of Commissioner of Agriculture (1871)	1		"
	Congressional Record, Vol. II, parts 1, 2, 3, and Index.	4		"

LIBRARIAN'S REPORT—continued.

AUTHOR.	TITLE.	Vols.	Pamph.	DONOR.
	Message and Documents to the 41st and 42nd Congresses.	4		Judge J. P. Richardson.
	Report of the Chief of the Bureau of Statistics on Commerce and Navigation (1872).	2		" "
	Report of the International Penitentiary Congress of London (1872).	2		" "
	Compendium of the Ninth Census of the U. S.....	2		" "
	Memorial Addresses—Life and Services of John Cavode.	1		" "
	Alabama Claims—Case of the U. S.....	1		" "
	Report of the Secretary of War (1881).....	1		" "
	Report of the Committee on the Mobiler Bribery.	1		" "
	Manual on School Houses and Cottages for the Southern People.	1		" "
	Central American Affairs and Industrial Questions.	1		" "
	Report of the Committee on Railroads (1881).....	1		" "
	Report of the Joint Committee on Reconstruction (1866).	1		" "
	Country School Houses.....	1		" "
	Quinquennial Catalogue of Harvard Law School.....	1	1	" "
	Resources, Soil, and Climate of Texas.....	1		" "
	Tenth Report of Music Teachers' Association—Boston, 1886.	1	1	" "
	State Gazette Appendix, Vol. 4 (1860).....	1		" "
	General Laws of Texas—14th Legislature.	2		" "
	The Kansas University Quarterly, Vols. 7 and 8.	1		Kansas University.
	Annals of Iowa, Vol. 3.....	1		Iowa Historical Association.
	Ohio Archaeological and Historical Quarterly, Vol. 8.....	1		Ohio Archaeological and Historical Society.
C. Thurston Chase.....				
James Johonnot.....				
A. W. Spaight, Com.....				

LIBRARIAN'S REPORT—*continued.*

AUTHOR.	TITLE.	Vols.	Pamph.	DONOR.
	"Old Northwest" Genealogical Quarterly, Vol. 1.....	1		"Old Northwest" Genealogical Society.
	Political Science Quarterly, Vol. 13.....	1		The Publishers.
	Publications of the Rhode Island Historical Society, Vol. 6.....	1		Rhode Island Historical Society.
	Southern History Quarterly, Vol. 3.....	1		Southern History Association.
	Virginia Magazine, Vol. 7.....	1		
	Total additions to Library since July, 1899.	39	30	
	Total number of volumes and pamphlets in Library.	153	191	

Respectfully submitted,

GEORGE P. GARRISON,
Librarian.

THE QUARTERLY

OF THE

TEXAS STATE HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION.

Vol. IV.

OCTOBER, 1900.

No. 2.

The publication committee and the editor disclaim responsibility for views expressed by contributors to the Quarterly.

ESCAPE OF KARNES AND TEAL FROM MATAMOROS.¹

BROOKLYN, N. Y., March 2, 1881.

To H. A. McArdle, Esq., Independence, Texas.

MY DEAR SIR: In compliance with your request, I herein give you some of my reminiscences of Matamoros, connected with the revolutionary struggle of Texas, and not included in what I have heretofore published on the subject; and since commencing the letter I find I have accidentally, but quite appropriately dated it on an anniversary half-forgotten where it ought most to be remembered. In the May number of the *Magazine of American History* for 1879, I narrated the case of the Texan prisoners captured by Urrea at San Patricio and thereabout, and alluded to the detention and escape of the Texan commissioners, Karnes and Teal, whose adventures, I observed, would form an interesting romance, but would be too long to be included in that article. I now propose to relate what was then omitted.

The duty on which those commissioners were sent by the Texan commander, with the sanction of the Mexican general, Filisola, was that of carrying into effect certain forms of a truce entered into

¹The original of this letter has been presented to the Association by Mr. McArdle.—EDITOR QUARTERLY.

between Houston and Santa Anna (the latter a captive), and assented to by Filisola, who was still in the field. Under that agreement Filisola was permitted to retreat unmolested from Texas, with the remains of Santa Anna's forces, and, by the same terms, the commissioners were to receive and conduct back to Texas all prisoners of war then in Matamoras, as well as all escaped slaves who could be found there. The readiness of both sides after the battle of San Jacinto to hold hands off was more excusable on the part of Mexico than of Texas. The latter got lazily rid of an enemy she might have destroyed, while the former profited by the immunity, and dodged the terms left for later fulfillment. It was a new instance of the man who was left to hold the bag.

Filisola was relieved of his command and ordered to the City of Mexico so soon as he had got through the most arduous portion of his retreat, and went to the metropolis without passing through Matamoras, while Urrea, already there, succeeded to the command of the defeated forces. It was not yet officially known what reception the Mexican government had given to Filisola's report of the truce; but no one living in Mexico had any doubt as to what it would prove to be. That government did not openly repudiate the armistice till the benefit to their side was accomplished, and the rest was not.

Karnes and Teal were officers in the service of Texas, who had figured in the late campaign, the former as a captain of volunteer cavalry and a most efficient scout, and the latter as a captain of regular infantry. They were accompanied by their orderlies, two soldiers of Teal's company, and an interpreter, a French resident of Texas, named Victor Loupé. Their flag of truce and passport from General Filisola brought them safe into Matamoras, and they repaired to Proctor's Hotel, where many of the American residents, as well as a number of Mexican officers boarded.

To see for the first time in Matamoras, in the midst of those they had fought against, two San Jacinto officers with shoulder straps of rebel rank, and two soldiers from the same field in rather ungainly uniforms, was a cause of no little sensation. The foreign residents greeted the phenomena with great cordiality. I was at the hotel when they arrived, and happened to be one of the first to salute them; but I threw no immediate damper on the hopes of what I

knew to be a fool's errand. I was struck by the appearance of Karnes, whose robust frame, red hair, and bold Scottish cast of features offered, I thought, a good personation of Rob Roy in his youth. Teal, though of less notable individuality, was as wiry, and more handsome, and of genteel bearing for a lad of frontier breeding. They were soon greeted by a brother officer, then a prisoner at large in Matamoros, Major Miller, who had been captured with his men at Copano, and had narrowly escaped the fate of Fannin. He had been brought thither with the retreating army, and was allowed the freedom of the city bounds. From him and other friends who called the commissioners soon learned that Filisola's pledges were certain to meet with no recognition; and they expressed their readiness to accept whatever ill luck duty had brought upon them.

To the Mexican officers, smarting under recent disaster, the sight of Texan officers and soldiers wearing outward and visible signs of their class and quality was a galling sight, and roused antipathy which the diplomatic position of the commissioners could hardly restrain; but its manifestation did not go beyond muttered threats and hostile but half covert gestures. There was, however, one class of persons to whom the new comers were apparitions of terrible import. The fugitive slaves, of whom there were between fifty and a hundred in the city, soon learned on what errand these Texans had come; and, as they had no longing for the hearth and home of Uncle Tom's cabin, they quaked with fear. Some skulked out of sight; others, I think, bolted to the bush; and one, at least, ran to the nearest barrack and decorated his ragged felt with a borrowed military hat-band. Under the protection of this talisman, which represented the sovereignty of his adopted land, he ventured to walk the streets.

The Mexican officers lost no time in protesting at headquarters against the toleration of any tokens of rank or soldiership in rebels, and advised the prompt suppression of such displays, though it should be only for the safety of the wearers. General Urrea acted on the suggestion. The commissioners had notified him of their arrival; and his first recognition of their presence was an order to doff all military insignia from the persons of themselves and their attendants. It was done; and the Mexican bull became less

irritable when the red flag of the matador was put out of sight. This was the first official affront they received, and it occurred, I think, before the first day ended. It is worthy of recollection, however, that one man from the ranks showed a more manly sign of the freemasonry of the sword. Soon after the new group arrived, the two orderlies met on the street a battered looking Mexican soldier, who, after scanning their baggy uniforms for a moment, accosted them with a sufficiency of pigeon English in his speech to make himself understood. "Soldados Goddammes," he said, "tomorrow we may have to fire bullets at each other; now, while we can, vamos a drinky whiskey." The invitation was frankly accepted; but like Santa Anna's truce, it left the advantage on the Mexican side. There was then a general vacuum in the military pockets at Matamoros; and the Texans had to pay for the "whiskey." The magnanimity of the veteran may have been merely an old soldier trick.

I have no precise recollection of dates. The commissioners, I think, came in May, and it was just after the defeated army had arrived—probably about the time Urrea relieved Filisola. The commissioners, after a day or two, finding themselves unable to obtain an interview with General Urrea, concluded to address him a note referring to the object of their mission, and requesting that he would enable them to carry it into effect, or give them a definite answer of some kind on the subject. Though they intended to address him in English, they requested me to put their letter into proper shape. I did so, to the best of my ability, and then requested that one of them would copy for their signatures what I had written, as I did not wish it to appear in my handwriting. Karnes made the copy I suggested, but both of the young men had been reared where the schoolmaster was but little abroad; and the letter was so badly penned that, for the credit of Texas, I felt unwilling to let it go in a plight so illegible; so I wrote out the body of the document myself, though in a hand which I attempted to disguise. This was a thing in which I was never very skillful. An Irish spy and striker whom Urrea had picked up recognized my distorted penmanship, and soon after took occasion to inform me of his own smartness and the general's displeasure at the discovery. This incident,

I think, added considerably to the suspicion with which I had begun to be regarded.¹

The letter was answered, but in evasive terms which amounted to nothing; and when the commissioners requested passports to return with they were refused, and were forbidden to leave the place. What Urrea's intentions then were towards them, if he had any, is uncertain. As they had come under a flag of truce, he probably could not bring himself to make prisoners of them at once, and he was afraid to let them go; so he knew not what to do with them. They continued thus as prisoners at large, under surveillance, some weeks. In the meantime the repudiation of Santa Anna's truce was proclaimed, and with it threats of a fresh and speedy invasion of Texas in overwhelming force. This bluster of rumor seemed like the din of a general uprising. The church was to pour out its treasures, and the population to contribute the best of its bone and sinew, brain and blood, for the vindication of national honor. As this game of brag imposed on most of the foreign residents, if not on most of the Mexicans themselves, it is not surprising that it completely deceived the commissioners, and that they were anxious to send promptly to Texas news of the imagined danger. This brought about what you have heard of as the sending of the whip-handle dispatch. I had, as you suppose, some connection with that affair, but was not the principal agent in it. I engaged the courier and suggested the hollow handle of a whip as a place of concealment for papers not likely to be suspected; but I wrote nothing that was sent in the casket I contrived, for I did not approve the kind of news which all the rest concerned insisted on sending. Mr. William Howell, a Philadelphian, and then an extensive wool buyer at Matamoros, took the lead in the undertaking, and bore the expense of it. He was one of the most zealous friends of the cause of Texas in the

¹Since writing this paragraph I have called to mind more vaguely having a few days later written for the signature of the commissioners a letter to General Rusk, which General Urrea permitted them to send by some conveyance which the latter commanded, provided it were sent through him. It was accordingly submitted to him, being in the same disguised hand which had been recognized as mine. Though I do not remember the contents of this letter, it is now my impression that it was this more than the other which caused Urrea's displeasure towards the amanuensis. Memory often comes back to us in dribblets.

place, and the most lavish of his means for its advancement. He was also an intimate friend of mine; but, except in the sympathy referred to, our ideas seldom harmonized. The papers sent in the whip handle were a letter from Captain Teal to General Rusk, and another from Howell not signed, and they were worded more like military orders than suggestions of a subordinate and advice from an unknown friend. "I am not discouraged *atoll*," said Teal. "You *must* work headwork as well as fight. You *must* blow up San Antonio and Goliad"; while Howell wrote, among other sage advice, "Shoot Santa Anna and his officers." I listened to both communications with disgust; for they were shrieks of the same kind of unreasoning panic which had set fire to Gonzales and San Felipe. I had been less imposed on than many of my friends by the Mexican bluster of the season, which I was even then inclined to put into the same category with Henry Smith's threat to carry his conquests to the walls of Mexico, and, though I believed in the possibility of near danger to Texas, and thought she ought to be warned, I had no wish to aid in raising the shepherd boy's sham cry of *wolf*. But my advice was overruled.

Howell put Teal's letter, with corrected orthography, as well as his own, into a very minute and well-disguised back hand. The whip handle was stuffed, and the courier was started. He was a young Mexican, who had already been employed in similar trips, and was considered perfectly trustworthy. He went with speed, and without interruption, till he arrived near the Nueces, where he fell into the hands of Texan scouts, who charged him with being a spy or an enemy's courier, and searched his equipments in every place except the right one for papers. Not finding them, they threatened to hang him up unless he produced dispatches, whether he had any or not; and he plead in vain to be taken to their general. At length, to save his neck, he betrayed the whip handle. Thus the letters intended for General Rusk went into the hands of the roughest and most ignorant scouts, and copies must have been taken by the first readers, for one letter went speedily to the press, which it would never have done through the hands of General Rusk. There was certainly one among the scouts who was sufficiently clerical for such mischief, for he gave the courier an acquittance of his charge by receipting to him for "one whip." I saw the receipt when it

came back, and would have been glad if the signer of it and his companions had truthfully receipted for "one whipping." The receipt was not the only voucher which returned; for in a short time, I think little more than two weeks, Teal's letter came to us in the columns of a New Orleans newspaper. I know not by what exceptional forbearance it was that Howell's communication was not published also. Teal said in his, "We have met with many friends here," but luckily he did not name them; still the incident was a terrible damper to all who had expected ordinary discretion in the people they were endeavoring, at no little risk, to serve.

The whip handle news had the ill effect I had apprehended. Texas for a time was pervaded by panic, and many of the frontier settlers were frightened from their homes, which they had to leave at great sacrifice.

About the time above referred to, a friend who had called on business at headquarters informed me that he had seen lying on General Urrea's office table the number of the *Picayune* which contained Teal's letter, and lying beside it a manuscript translation of the letter into Spanish. It was about this time that Karnes and Teal were suddenly arrested and put into close confinement in one of the regimental barracks. As well as I recollect, this occurred just after Teal's letter came to light through the press, which, if I am right as to time, gave Urrea, to say the least, a plausible justification of his step. In a few days, however, the commissioners were permitted to rent their own prison; that is, they were allowed to hire private quarters, such as could be easily guarded, where they could be confined under the charge of a special detail. Such a squad, under a commissioned officer, was sent each morning to the private quarters to relieve its predecessor,—the two prisoners being permitted to go thrice a day in charge of a file of soldiers to take their meals at the hotel where they had before boarded. Their friends were also allowed to visit and converse with them at any hour of the day. Thus their imprisonment, however irksome, was not very rigid; and I think they were generally treated with courtesy and consideration by the officer of their guard. Their two orderlies, who had been arrested at the same time with themselves, were confined with the San Patricio prisoners in the principal barrack, and remained there till the whole body was released by General

Bravo. In the meantime, apprehensions of the immediate invasion of Texas had died away; and, as a considerable force was kept on foot there, the commissioners no longer felt any dread concerning the safety of their country. Still the thought of escape continually occupied their minds. Major Miller had effected his, and had arrived safe at General Rusk's camp before Karnes and Teal were confined; and they, some time after their transfer to private quarters, were very near making a desperate flitting before any feasible plan could be formed for doing it with a fair prospect of success. They had acquired some knowledge of Spanish; and one evening on their way to supper they ventured to sound the two soldiers who had charge of them, and found them willing to desert, and, for a small consideration, to escort their prisoners out of town before taking their own course of flight. This need not seem strange, for it was at a time when desertion was rife among the half-paid soldiery. The captives could have had no other plan than to cross the river in any manner they could, and make their way on foot as best they might through the arid waste between the Rio Grande and the Nueces. The supper was eaten, and an extra ration from the table put into each pocket; and the prisoners and guards commenced a brisk march towards the country. They had nearly reached the edge of the city when a military patrol, crossing their course, frightened the soldiers, who peremptorily demanded a return to quarters. Thus the attempt failed; but one minor incident connected with it is worthy of mention. On the outward march, when not far from the outskirts, they passed two of the black fugitives from Texas who had been so alarmed by the arrival of the commissioners. "My God, Ben," said one to the other, "the sojers is a takin' 'em out to the bush to shoot 'em." This was the only way in which the negro could account for the direction which guard and prisoners were jointly taking. He spoke with evident horror, and it was very pleasing to the two Texans to meet with such a token of sympathy where it was hardly to be expected, considering the relation in which the commissioners stood towards the runaways. It was one instance of the many which occur of the kindly feeling which the escaped slave can entertain towards the house of bondage and its flesh-pots.

Karnes and Teal continued in this loose kind of custody, I think,

over three months. Among the acquaintances they had made before their imprisonment was Mr. Robert Love, an American, who had a hat manufactory in Matamoros. He took charge of their baggage when they were arrested, and had occasional conferences with them, and often sent messages through me. They were indebted mainly to him for their escape, in arranging for which he was willing to take any risk, and could do it more boldly, as he had fallen less under suspicion than the rest of their friends. He secured a guide, a ranchero, older than the whip-handle courier, who for the present wished to avoid dangerous enterprises. When other needful dispositions were made, the program for the first step, or rather the first rush, was fixed on. The quarters occupied by the Texans were a house of one large room opening on the street and having no back yard or rear entrance. It was about midway between the plaza and the nearest edge of the town towards the river, where an old receding of the stream had left a small lagoon. This was beyond the dwellings, but not very far from the quarters. To this place the prisoners were wont to repair under a guard whenever the calls of nature had to be obeyed. It was resolved that on the evening fixed for the escape the guide should repair to this spot early in the evening, ready mounted and leading another saddled horse, and should there await the appearance of the prisoners. They, on their arrival, were to break from the guard and mount, one behind the guide, and the other in the empty saddle, when the horses were to be put to full speed in the safest direction. At Mr. Love's request, I gave information of the plan to the prisoners early in the day by calling at their quarters, when I delivered the message in the fewest words possible, and then without taking a seat took my leave; for a long conversation at this juncture might afterwards seem suspicious. The plan succeeded.

In the evening my ear was on the alert for the beating of a general alarm or some such token that the escape was effected; but I heard none, and began to apprehend failure. If pursuit was made, as it doubtless was, it was done without demonstrations. I remained on the plaza and its vicinity till a late hour. My way thence to my lodging room was past the prisoners' quarters, and in going, after 10 o'clock, I took my usual course past them. The officer of the guard stood at the door, but I saw nothing of the prisoners. I was

passing him with a salutation, when he called to me, and I halted. "Have you seen Don Henrique and his companion this evening?" said he, meaning the two Texans. "No, Señor," I replied, "have they not returned from supper?" "They went to supper," he said, "at the usual hour, and then, as usual, to the *comun*; and the corporal and soldier who escorted them report that, while they were lying down to drink at the water's edge, the two prisoners disappeared. It could not have been a mere trick of the latter, for if so you would probably have met them; it must be an escape." "Yes," said I, "they have doubtless bolted for the bush." "*Seguramente*," he replied, and bidding him good night, I passed on. I had expected closer questioning; and it struck me that the officer took the matter very coolly, when it was certain to involve an arrest and a court-martial for him. I went to my room and to bed; but before falling asleep I heard the foot-steps of a passing guard, and from some stern words that reached me I learned that they had one or more persons in custody. It might be the fugitives, or some one suspected of aiding them; and the thought naturally came up, "It may be my turn next." But the turn did not come; and in the morning I learned that the man arrested was Victor Loupé, the interpreter of the commissioners, who had not shared the imprisonment of his employers. Nothing appeared against him, and he was soon released, and no other foreigner was arrested. Though my conversation with the Texans was probably the last they had with any outsider before their flight, the brevity of the conference must have saved me from being suspected of complicity. It is probable, too, that the safe retention of these men had become a matter of indifference to General Urrea, now that there was no prospect of speedy operations against Texas. Their flitting did not cause a tenth of the excitement which, a year later, after I had left Mexico, followed the escape of Wm. H. Wharton, and led to the arrest of several American residents.

I afterwards learned that Karnes and Teal, on going out to the lagoon, found there the guide, who seemed to be watering his horses. The two prisoners made a show of sky-larking with each other, and in doing it amused, and got further away from, their unvigilant guards, and then made a sudden rush for the horses, mounted, and were off in a moment. If the soldiers fired, it was without effect.

The corporal's story about lying down to drink was no doubt a lame excuse of his own invention. The fugitive group swam the river with their horses, and took refuge a few miles from its northern bank in a thicket which had already been picked out as a safe hiding place, and had been stored with a hidden supply of food; for the plan contemplated an abode there of several days till the first energy of pursuit should be over.

I am again at a loss for dates, but it was in autumn, I think in September, when the escape occurred. Soon after the fugitives took refuge in the thicket the fall rains set in; and, as their hiding-place had no other shelter than what they could improvise, they found the trials of freedom, if more welcome, more of a penance for the present than the accommodations of captivity. The rains for a time so swelled the Arroyo Colorado and so submerged the roads that it was not thought advisable to start on their journey so soon as had been contemplated; and the fugitives had to continue in their bleak bivouac more than two weeks. Their guide did not keep with them most of the time, but visited them daily, to take to them whatever they needed and to give them information. When their baggage was sent over, Mr. Love did not think it advisable to send Captain Teal's uniform and sword, for the accidental discovery of these articles by scouts on the way might interrupt the plan of escape; but Teal continued his entreaty for them so earnestly that Love at length took the risk of sending them. Karnes, not being a regular, had no uniform, nor would he have given it undue importance if he had had one. I afterwards heard the incident referred to quite significantly.

The time at length came when a start was considered feasible, and the trio in due time reached in safety the camp of the army of Texas east of the Nueces, where their arrival called forth great demonstrations of joy.

My story is ended, but it is proper that I should give a parting word to the subsequent lot of the several persons whom I have named. Karnes died about three years after, and was then, I think, in command of a small garrison at San Antonio. Though of humble origin and almost illiterate, he was a man of large brain, by nature a gentleman as well as a soldier, and of the kind of material which in Napoleon's day so often supplied the great leader with field

marshals from the ranks. Teal soon after his escape rose to the command of the regiment to which his company belonged, and at the time of his death was, I think, in temporary command of the army of Texas. He was a half instructed martinet, with none of the tact and discrimination so essential for the command of soldiers among whom mutiny is chronic, owing to lack of pay and of a strong power above them. The result was that he became an object of hatred to his men, and was shot dead one night in his tent by hands which were never identified.¹ The assassin took advantage of a violent storm, and so timed the discharge as to make it simultaneous with a clap of thunder. He fired from without, where, so long as he knew on which side of the tent his victim lay, he could place the muzzle almost in contact with its mark. In the same tent that night lay the Bayard of the early days of Texas, William G. Cooke, who slept unconscious of the murder till it was discovered in the morning.² A few years later, while relating the adventures of Matamoros to one who had been an officer of that short-lived army, I told of Teal's anxiety to secure his uniform for his flight. "That uniform," said the listener, "was the death of him. He was always flaunting it in the eyes of his ragged soldiery, and this brought their animosity up to the killing point."

Major Miller was known to me at a later day as a resident of Victoria, where he long since died. Mr. Love after annexation removed to Texas and settled at Corpus Christi, where I am told he died a few years ago. Mr. Howell, about a year after the above events in Matamoros, lost his life in an attempt to pass from that place to Texas by land under the guidance of the whip-handle courier. Howell bore on his person a large sum in doubloons, which may have become known to his guide. The story told by that man was that they were attacked on the way by banditti, and that Howell was killed, while he escaped; but there was a strong suspicion that the

¹A note inserted at this point, apparently by Mr. McArdle, is as follows: "By John H. Schultz, who so confessed before his execution in Galveston in 1855 for the double murder of Bateman and Jett.—Colonel Fulton in John Henry Brown." What Brown has to say of the matter will be found in his *History of Texas*, II, 135-37.—EDITOR QUARTERLY.

²This does not exactly harmonize with the account given by Colonel Fulton, who was officer of the guard in the Texan camp that night. See note 1 above.—EDITOR QUARTERLY.

guide, notwithstanding his previous fidelity, had been tempted to commit the murder and robbery himself. What became of the interpreter and the two orderlies I know not, but they have probably traveled the same road with the rest. That noble-hearted circle of foreign residents who then fraternized in Matamoros were soon scattered, never again to meet; and one after another they have in the distance dropped or faded from my sight. Of the persons associated with Karnes and Teal in that place I am perhaps the only one living.

As this episode, though unimportant, may be interesting to those who take an interest in the historic stem of which it is a mere twig, it ought perhaps to be preserved by the only one who can now do it; and I do not object to your desire to publish it if you can find in Texas—what I never could—a printer who is intelligent enough to know when he is making a fool of his author,—one who would not be liable to convert *Bowie's apparition* into *Bowie's opposition*.

With a prayer that printer's types may some day become as plain in the meaning they aim at as the types and shadows we hear of in another line of business, I am most truly

Your friend and obedient servant,

R. M. POTTER.

P. S.—Allusions just made remind me that, if this letter be printed, the typographical opportunity may be made use of to say a word about another thing touching me, which was put into a newspaper without asking my consent. Over two years ago, I sent to a gentleman in Texas, at his request, a letter containing an outline of my personal history, it being requested for a use so different from that of making it the basis of a newspaper article that I had no apprehension of such perversion. The substance of it, however, was converted into a communication to the *Galveston News*; and, though no misstatement was aimed at nor made except through the awkward use and alteration of words, the writer and printer between them contrived to evolve an amount of nonsense so great that I wish to plead innocence of it. I heard of the publication by mere accident over two months after it came out; for the writer forgot to send me a copy, as well as to ask my leave. On obtaining the article, I read in it with surprise that my father was a native of New Jersey and was born in England, and there I read for the first

time of such things as "imitated rank" and a "second lieutenant-general,"—designations unknown to the Blue Book. Other causes of wonder turned up, but these will suffice. Setting aside blunders, the article seemed so uncalled-for as a subject of interest then and there, that I have thought I might be excused for accounting for its appearance, whenever I could do so without making it the subject of a special communication. The first time I ever saw my own life in print was when I read that number of the *News* of December 12th, 1878, and the sight of it gave me the uncomfortable feeling which a man is said to have on catching a glimpse of his own ghost.

R. M. P.

THE REMINISCENCES OF MRS. DILUE HARRIS. I.

It is difficult to give this contribution a title which shall describe it properly. The basis of it was a journal kept by Dr. Pleasant W. Rose, the father of Mrs. Harris, which has unfortunately been destroyed. Copying parts of the journal, Mrs. Harris has added her own recollections, and the whole is almost indistinguishably blended in the manuscript. It takes on, therefore, the form of reminiscences, and is given that title; but much of it is a journal in fact. The dates and subtitles are written, in every instance except one, at the heads of the pages; but in one or two cases it is clear that they do not apply to all the matter on the pages beneath them. They have been printed, as nearly as it could be done, immediately before the lines which they precede in the manuscript. It has been revised for publication, but the changes, except in the case of some omissions which it has been thought best to make, affect only minor details. Not only have the statements been carefully preserved, but the language itself has been altered as little as possible.

Mrs. Dilue Harris is the widow of Ira S. Harris, who was born in Jefferson county, New York, in 1816, came to Texas in 1836, and was married near Houston in 1839. He lived at Columbus, Colorado county, where he died in 1869.—EDITOR QUARTERLY.

1833, April 28.

This was the anniversary of my birthday. I was eight years old, and on shipboard at the time with my father, Dr. P. W. Rose, my mother, brother, and sister. We embarked at New Orleans the 15th of the month for Matagorda, Texas, and were two weeks on the Gulf of Mexico. The name of the captain of the ship was Denmore. The pilot was James Spillman. I don't remember the name of the vessel, but she was a small schooner. We were becalmed for two weeks, then a storm arose, and we ran on the bar at Galveston Island. We were two days and nights trying to get off; then we anchored near the island. The storm had been raging fearfully for twelve hours, but it ceased late in the evening. The moon rose full. It was a splendid sight. The passengers wanted to land, but Captain Denmore would not let them. He said if the wind rose he would go to Harrisburg, a small town on Buffalo Bayou.

Galveston Island was a sandbar, on which not a house was to be seen. The captain said there had been a custom house on the

island, but it had been moved to Anahuac, and that Mexico had closed Galveston as a port of entry.

Captain Spillman, the pilot, said his home was on Spillman Island, and that he had a grown son living there. He said he would take the schooner to Harrisburg in a few hours, if the wind and tide were favorable. The passengers had all been seasick, and were willing to go anywhere to get on land. The wind did not rise that night, but the next morning a terrible storm came up. The vessel dragged her anchor, and Captain Denmore sent the passengers down in the hold, and then she shipped water till the sailors closed the hatch-way. It was so dark we could not see. In the evening the schooner ran on the beach at Clopper's Point, near Virginia Point. She grounded and turned on her side. The sailors saved the women and children. The men carried father out. He was very sick, and had been all the time.

The storm subsided, the water went down, and the schooner remained on shore. There was a small log house near. It was vacant and had a fireplace, but no floor. The people took possession. Men and sailors carried the freight out of the schooner. We were nearly starved, for we had not had anything to eat all day. There were three negroes with us, one man and two women. They began cooking. The men put a plank across the house. They set the ends between the logs for a table, and there we dined the first time in Texas. We slept that night in wet clothes. Captain Spillman's son came during the night with a small keel-boat and men to our assistance. Father decided to go to Harrisburg.

Clopper's Point, Texas, April 29, 1833.

Mother and Mrs. Johnson were the only white women in our party. Mrs. Johnson had no children. Mr. Johnson decided to wait for the return of the boat to take them to Matagorda. The captain said father's family should go first. Mother spent the next morning drying out clothes. The freight was not badly injured. By noon we were aboard, bound for Harrisburg. My mother's brother, James Wells, went with us. The trip up Buffalo Bayou was very pleasant. We stopped at Lynch's Ferry, passed a steamboat sunk at the junction of San Jacinto and Buffalo Bayou, and arrived at Harrisburg in the night. No one expected a boat

at that time, for in those days there were no telegraph lines or railroads.

Harrisburg, April 30, 1833.

In the morning, we were received with open arms by the good people of Harrisburg. Father was very sick, and had to be carried. A Mrs. Brewster had him taken to her house. She was a widow.

Uncle James Wells went out to rent a house, but there was none vacant. There was not a dray nor a wagon in the place. A Mr. Andrew Robinson came to see father, and said he had a new house half a mile from town, which he could have. He said his old woman wanted to visit their son, Andrew, living at San Felipe. Mr. Lytle had a cart and one yoke of oxen, and he moved us. He wouldn't take pay for his work; said that was not the way in Texas. In the evening the men came with the cart for father and mother. My sister and brother and I had been on the go all day. When we got to the house, the kind ladies had sent meal, butter, eggs, milk and honey, and had the house in order and supper ready.

Captain Spillman returned to Clopper's Point, and carried Mr. Johnson's family to Brazoria. I remember the names of but a few of the passengers. My mother's brother, James Wells, came with us from St. Louis, Missouri, and a Mr. Bennet, from Kentucky. He had a sister in Texas, Mrs. W. J. Russell. She lived near Columbia on the Brazos river. Mr. Bennet brought two slaves, a man and a woman. Mr. Johnson and wife were young married people, and had one negro woman. He had been in Texas before he married.¹

We were delighted with our home. It was a new frame house. Most of the houses of Harrisburg were built of logs. Mother said she would be willing to live in a camp the rest of her life rather than cross the Gulf of Mexico again.

¹I never met them again. Mother saw them in Houston in the year 1837. Mr. Johnson took an active part in separating Texas from Mexico. I never met Captain Denmore again, but I met Captain Spillman several times. He ran his boat from Harrisburg to Anahuac.

May 1, 1833.—*Harrisburg and its Inhabitants. The four Harris brothers.*

Harrisburg had been settled several years. It was settled by four brothers. John Harris, the oldest, had died some years before. His family were living in New York. The other brothers were Dave Harris, who had a wife and two children, daughter named Sarah, and William and Sam Harris. Other people living there were Robert Wilson, wife, and two sons; Albert Gallatin and son; Mr. Hiram, wife, and two daughters, Sophronia and Susan; Mr. Lytle, wife, and daughter; Mrs. Brewster and one son; Mr. Evans and wife; Dr. Wright and family; Dr. Gallagher; Mr. Peeples and wife; Mr. Farmer and family; Mr. Mansfield, and five negroes; one negro man, Joe,¹ servant of W. B. Travis; and John W. Moore, the Mexican alcalde.² The young men were Messrs. Richardson, Dodson, Wilcox, Hoffman, and Lucian Hopson.³ The boys were James Brewster, and John, George, and Isaac Iiams, step-sons of Dave Harris. There was also a Mr. Ray.

There was a steam saw mill at the mouth of Bray's Bayou. It belonged to Robert Wilson and W. P. Harris.⁴ Mr. Hoffman was engineer.

May, 1833.

Everything in Harrisburg was different from what we had been accustomed to. No church, nor preacher, school house nor court house. *They had no use for a jail*; everybody honest. We had been there but a few days when a man died. My sister asked mother how they could bury the man without a hearse and carriages. In the evening the funeral came. Mr. Lytle with his cart and oxen conveyed the corpse, men, women and children walking. Brother and I went with them. I don't remember the man's

¹He was with Colonel Travis at the Alamo, and was sent by General Santa Anna to escort Mrs. Dickinson and child to Gonzales. I have never seen his name mentioned in Texas history.

²He was the first sheriff elected in Harris county, the election being in the fall of 1836.

³He died in the year 1896, aged 98.

⁴It was burned by the Mexicans in April, 1836.

name. He came to Texas from New York with the four Harris brothers. A Mr. Choate conducted the burial. The man was a stranger in a strange land, but was nursed and buried by the good people and mourned by all.

The next time I met Mr. Choate was the Fourth of July. He played the violin for the young people to dance. He lived below the town on Vince's Bayou. He had five daughters. He was the most popular man in Texas.

Thomas Earl lived below the town on Buffalo Bayou. He had a wife, two sons, and four daughters, all grown. The Vince brothers, Allen, William, Robert, and Richard, lived at the bridge on Vince's Bayou. Allen Vince was a widower. He had two sons. Their sister, Miss Susan, kept house for them. Mr. Bronson and wife lived at the mouth of Buffalo Bayou. He was trying to raise the

Harrisburg, May, 1833.

steamboat.¹ They did not succeed, but they saved the machinery and furniture. The boat belonged to David G. Burnet, who lived near Galveston Bay.

There were two dry goods stores at Harrisburg. The export trade consisted of cotton and hides. Twice a year a schooner would bring groceries and other necessities from New Orleans.

That year there was some talk of trouble with Mexico. Soldiers had been sent to Velasco and Anahuac. The people did not appear to anticipate danger. In the year 1832, several Texans had been put in prison at Anahuac, but were released without trial. Among them was W. B. Travis.

Our first summer in Texas passed very pleasantly. Father got well, bought a horse, and began the practice of medicine. He bought drugs and medicine, also dry goods and groceries from New Orleans for his family, but sold the flour, as there was none in Harrisburg. The merchants said flour would be brought from New Orleans in the fall, when the schooner came for cotton.

We were settled only a few days when sister and I asked mother if we could not go and gather dewberries. She said yes, but that we must not go away from the fence. We were so interested in gather-

¹See above under date April 29, 1833.

ing berries and flowers that we were soon out of sight of the house and were lost in the pine woods. It seems like Providence guided our footsteps. We got on a footpath that led to the last house below town. Mr. Farmer lived there, and he went home with us.

Harrisburg, June, 1833.

When we got home, mother was calling us. We had been gone one hour, and were so frightened that we stayed in the yard afterwards all the time.

Father met an old friend from St. Louis, Mr. Gallatin. Three of the young men that came to Texas with us came to visit us. They had gone with Mr. Johnson to Brazoria. We were glad to see them. They were going to San Felipe on a surveying expedition to locate land. One was a surveyor.

By the 15th of June, the Brazos and Colorado rivers overflowed, and the water extended from the Brazos to Buffalo Bayou. The crops were all lost. Not corn enough was raised to feed the people, and no cotton was raised that year. No boat came during the year. David Harris sent a schooner loaded with lumber to Tampico, Mexico, which brought back dry goods, but no provisions. It was many days before we got any flour. Soon times became hard. The steam mill was closed down, running only one day in the week to grind corn. That threw the men out of work, as sawing timber was the only branch of industry in the place. There was some corn raised on Buffalo Bayou and the Bay, but the main dependence of the people was on the Brazos farmers. They, the planters, didn't raise bread to feed their negroes.

Father concluded to move. He rented a farm near Stafford's Point, about fifteen miles from Harrisburg on the Brazos. We were very sorry to leave our new friends, but father thought it best to move.

December, 1833.—*Leaving Harrisburg.*

The farm father rented was called the Cartwright farm. The owner had a large stock of cattle. We were to have the use of the milch cows. It was in a good neighborhood; and, as there was no physician living there, it was a desirable situation.

We left Harrisburg during Christmas, the weather warm and

pleasant. Mr. Lytle helped us to move. He said it would take two days, the roads were so bad. Father had sent most of our movables by a neighbor from the country. We started prepared to camp. Mr. Lytle gathered pine knots and put them in the cart, saying he would need them for fire and lights. Mother, sister, and myself rode in the cart. It was rough traveling. Christmas two years before, in the year 1831, we rode ten miles in a sleigh from Grandfather Wells' to St. Louis. Christmas, 1832, we were in New Orleans.

There were three young men with us, also Uncle James Wells. The men were going to Mr. Stafford's to build a cotton gin. They traveled on horseback. All of them had guns. They said they would go on six miles and wait for the cart. Father went with them to kill a deer, for we had bread, but no meat. Brother rode behind uncle. He was ten years old. He said he wanted to see the sport.

It was anything but fun before we got to the end of our journey. Three miles from town we left the timber. The prairie was covered with water. Bray's Bayou had overflowed and the road looked

December 28, 1833.—*Moving from Harrisburg, continued.*

like a river. We hadn't traveled six miles when the sun set, and the party on horseback was not in sight. We came to a mound that was high and dry, and Mr. Lytle said we would camp. He hobbled the oxen and turned them loose so they could feed. He got pine knots to make a fire. We had a flint and steel, but couldn't strike fire. In those days there were no matches, and every man carried a flint and steel, and the guns all had flint locks.

The men came back. Father had killed a deer. He soon made a fire, and the young men went to the timber to get firewood. They had to stand in the water, cut down a tree, cut it up, tie it on their saddles, and walk back. While the men were gone, father skinned the deer and got it ready for cooking.

We were waiting for the wood men to return, when all of a sudden the wolves began howling. They surrounded the camp. Mr. Lytle drove the oxen back, and tied them to the cart. The wolves were after the venison. Father would have shot one, but said if he

• killed it the others would eat it and then kill the oxen. Our woodmen got back, and made a big fire, which scared the wolves. They ran a short distance, sat down, faced the cart, and barked and howled all night. The men had to hold their horses to keep them from running off. One of the men had a mare and colt. He couldn't catch the colt; it would kick at the men, run off, and back to its

December 29, 1833.—*On the road from Harrisburg to
Stafford's Point.*

mother. Father had two hound dogs for hunting. They hid under the cart, and one of the men advised father to kill the dogs and feed the wolves. Mother, sister, and I, slept in the cart, brother and the dogs underneath. The men sat up to guard the stock. Bray's Bayou was near. We were surrounded by wolves and water. There was a large Sycamore tree that stood in the water near us, and it was as white as snow. The buzzards roosted in it. We could hear owls hoot all night. Mother said it was a night of horrors, worse than the days and nights on the bar at Galveston. She said the owls were singing a funeral dirge, and the wolves and buzzards were waiting to bury us. At daylight the wolves and owls disappeared.

We continued our journey. Mother rode Uncle James' horse, and uncle stayed with the cart. Father went ahead to get another yoke of oxen. He met us at Stafford's Point with them. We had to go four miles further, and got to the house at one o'clock. Mother and brother were there. The young men went to Mr. Stafford's plantation, two miles in the bottom on Oyster Creek.

There was a family in the house, that of a Mr. West, who had lived on the place five years. He had a wife and four children, and had built a house on Oyster Creek, a short distance away. He was our nearest neighbor. He moved next day. He had two daughters, one ten, the other eight years old. I was delighted to have them for playmates.

January 1, 1834.

The New Year opened fair and bright with no cold weather. Mr. Lytle stayed a few days with us to rest, then returned to Harrisburg. Father said he felt like he had lost his best friend. Sister

and I cried when he bade us goodbye. He would not let father pay him for moving us, but mother sent his wife some coffee, sugar, and dried apples, which father had brought from New Orleans. I never met Mr. Lytle again.

We were very lonesome the first few days. With not a house in sight, it was a great change from St. Louis and New Orleans. We had four near neighbors, Messrs. West, Bell, William Neal, and C. C. Dyer. Neal and Dyer married sisters, the daughters of Mr. Stafford. There were two brothers, Harvey and Adam Stafford, both grown.

Father and uncle commenced ploughing. Father had had no experience in farming. He had been a surgeon in the United States army. In 1812, he emigrated from Virginia to Georgia, and in the year 1813 to Missouri, before it was admitted into the Union. Mother had been reared on a farm, and she knew how to spin and weave. There was a wheelwright living in the neighborhood, and he made mother a spinning wheel. She had cards. I soon learned to spin.

January, 1834.—The Roark Family.

Mrs. Roark, a widow lady, lived two miles from our house. She came to see mother. She had been a widow four years, and had a large family, two grown sons, twin daughters, one daughter grown, two little children, a boy named Andrew, and a girl, born several months after the death of the father. The family came to Texas from Illinois in the year 1824. They traveled by land, in a large wagon with six mules. They came with Austin's first three hundred emigrants. The husband, Mr. Elijah Roark, was murdered by Indians in December, 1829, near San Antonio. Mr. Roark, his eldest son, Leo, and a young man were going to San Antonio with a wagon load of country produce. It consisted of butter, cheese, lard, bacon, soap, candles, and various other things which they expected to exchange for dry goods and family supplies. San Antonio, at that time, was the only market in Texas. The inhabitants were mostly Mexicans.

Mr. Roark's party had camped for the night. It was the 24th of December, and they were near the end of their journey. One

man was to keep guard while the other two slept. Leo Roark¹ said his father kept the first watch, and the other man the second. He went on guard about two o'clock, putting on his shoes and hat. It was the 24th of December, and they had been two weeks from home. The weather had been very warm, but while he was sitting by the camp-fire, the wind began to blow from the north. It was getting cold, so he put on his coat, took his gun and knife, and walked a short distance. There was a large log near the road about one hundred yards from the camp. His father told the boys they must walk past the log and turn back. He got to the log and was afraid to pass it. He thought he would go back and wake his father. The mules were staked near, and they were so restless he knew there was something close by. Before he got back, the Indians surrounded the camp. He shot at them, and his shot woke the men. They did not get on their feet before they were murdered. He tried to catch a mule that was tied to a stake, but could not get near the mule. He laid down his gun and tried to cut the rope. But before he could cut it, the Indians were so near he had to run. He lost his hat, knife, and gun. He was west of the camp, and knew the way to San Antonio. He said he left the road and ran into the mesquite thickets. He did not look back, nor realize what had happened till daylight. At sunrise, he stopped to rest. He couldn't find water, but ate mesquite beans. He traveled all day, and late in the evening he found water. He rested a few minutes, but was afraid to lie down, he was so tired and sleepy. After resting, he continued his journey, and arrived at San Antonio late in the night. He found the Mexicans celebrating Christmas. Next day, he got assistance and returned to bury his father. He said when he arrived at the camp it was a horrid sight, both men stripped and scalped, the wagon burned, the mules carried off, and everything either taken or destroyed. After they buried the dead, they built a log pen over the graves to prevent the wolves from digging

¹Mrs. Roark could not talk about the death of her husband, but her son Leo, who was with his father at the time and made his escape, often spoke about it, and always appeared to remember the horrible scene he has passed through during those Christmas holidays.

them up. The burning wagon had scared the wolves away, or they would have devoured the bodies.¹

It was three months before Leo got home. The family did not hear of the death of Mr. Roark and his companion till then. Leo returned with a company of Mexican soldiers on their way to Nacogdoches. The terrible tragedy of Mr. Roark's death was a great source of sorrow to all the people in the neighborhood, and left his family almost destitute.²

Brown's account of this affair in his *History of Texas*, vol. I. pp. 159-161, adds several important particulars to the one here given, and appears rather difficult to reconcile with it. He says that Elijah Roark and two other men, Robert Spears and Andrew Cox, were killed, and that David McCormick escaped and went with Leo to San Antonio.—EDITOR QUARTERLY.

"In the list read at the reunion of the veterans in Dallas in the year 1886, giving the names of those persons murdered by Indians, and called "Our Martyred Dead," the statement was made that Elijah Roark and his son Leo were murdered by Indians near San Antonio in the year 1829. That was a mistake. The father, Elijah Roark, and a young man were murdered at that time, as I have told, but Leo Roark escaped and did not die till the year 1891 or 1892. I lived near the Roarks three years and went to school with the two brothers, Jackson and Leo. They both passed through scenes of horror in Texas, Mexico, and California. After Leo escaped from the Indians he was in several fights with them. He was at San Antonio when General Cos was captured by the Texans in December, 1835. He was in the Grass Fight and at the battle of Concepcion under Ben Milam. He would have remained with Colonel Travis at the Alamo, but was sick and returned home. He was in the battle of San Jacinto. He was married to Miss ——— Pevyhouse, and was the father of a large family. At this time (January 1, 1898,) I don't know whether he has any descendants living. He was a good man and brave soldier. Peace to his ashes.

Jackson Roark's adventures were equal to those of his brother Leo. He was in the Somervell expedition in the year 1842. After the disbanding of Somervell's army on the Rio Grande, he joined an organization under Colonel Fisher for the invasion of Mexico in December, 1842. He, with other men from Houston and Harris county, was captured by the Mexicans. He and Henry Woodland helped to overpower the Mexican guards. He was recaptured at Mier. He drew a white bean and was marched to the city of Mexico with others, among them John Shipman, who died in Mexico. After witnessing the slaughter of his companions and suffering the hardships of the Mexican prison, he was released, and arrived in

February, 1834.—*On a Farm in Texas.*

By the first of the month, there was a scarcity of corn. People had to do without bread and save the corn for seed. Father had five bushels of corn ground in Harrisburg before he moved, and the men in the neighborhood laughed at him for not saving seed corn. He gave Mrs. Roark half the meal in exchange for sweet potatoes and pumpkins. All the farms on Oyster Creek had been overflowed in June, 1833. That year there was no cotton raised, and the schooner didn't come to Harrisburg in the fall; so there was no flour, coffee, bacon, nor lard in the country. Mr. Stafford made sugar. His sugar cane was not under water. The sugar was as black as tar. It had to be carried in a bucket. Father went to Mr. Stafford's to see a sick negro, and mother gave him a bag to get sugar. He was going in his every-day clothes, but mother would have him put on his best suit, and when he got back he was holding the bag at arm's length, his clothing covered with molasses. Mother hung up the bag with a bucket underneath, and we then had sugar and molasses. Mother had rice, tea, dried apples and white sugar, which she had brought from New Orleans, and which she was keeping for hard times and sickness. She said she would use the rice,

Houston from New Orleans in the fall of 1844. He then settled in Colorado county, and married Miss Helen McNeal. In Columbus, January, 1846, he helped organize a company, marched to the Rio Grande to join General Taylor, went through all the hardships of that campaign, and was at the capture of the city of Mexico. He visited the prison of Perote, where he had been confined when a prisoner. He returned home in the year 1848. His wife died soon after his return, and early in 1849 he joined a colony of gold seekers bound for California. He died there in the year 1851 or 1852, leaving one son, James Roark, now living near Corpus Christi.

The good old mother died in the winter of 1836, during Christmas. My mother and father were with her to the last. The eldest daughter married Mr. Cotie. Andrew died near Houston, leaving a wife and several children. Mary, the youngest, died soon after the mother. She was born four months after the father was murdered by the Indians. The twin girls, Louise and Lucinda, went to San Felipe after their mother's death, to live with their aunt, Mrs. Kelly. I never met them again, and I suppose they have long since passed away.

"O, where are the friends of my childhood,
O, where are the friends of my youth?"

as bread was getting scarce. We had plenty of milk, butter, venison, and small game. When one man butchered a beef, he divided with his neighbors.

We had been six weeks on the farm. Mother, sister Ella, and I had not been from home, and mother promised us we should soon go and visit Mrs. Roark's children. One Sunday she said brother Granville should take us and send Mrs. Roark to spend the day at our house. We were delighted with our visit. The twin girls were nine years old and could spin and weave. The young men, Leo and Jackson, were not at home. Mrs. Roark came back in the evening and sent us home. To my great delight, I found a little sister had arrived while we were gone. The thing next in order was naming the babe. I wanted to call her Louisiana. Father said we all should vote for her name. Mother, brother, and sister voted Missouri, and father for Texas. The majority ruled, and she was named Missouri.

It was now time to plant corn, and there was no seed corn nearer than fifteen miles. Dr. Johnson Hunter sent father word that if he would send up to his place he could get corn. Uncle James and brother went. Dr. Hunter let them have five bushels. He told uncle to plant half the corn; he said there might be cold weather that would kill the first planting.

February, 1834.—*Ben Fort Smith and his Negroes.*

One cold day we could see in the direction of Galveston Bay a large crowd of people. They were coming to our house. Mother said they were Indians, and we were badly frightened. Brother ran to the field for father and Uncle James. By the time they got to the house, the travelers were near. Mother wanted to leave the house and go in the woods, but father said no. He said that probably they had been shipwrecked, as it was only thirty miles to the bay. When they got near the house, there were three white men and a large gang of negroes. One man came in and introduced himself as Ben Fort Smith. He said he lived near Major Bingham's, and that he was lost and nearly starved. He asked father to let him have two beeves and some bread. Father told him that he did not own the cattle, but as it was a case of necessity, he would

kill two beeves, and send for Mr. Dyer, the agent. Father killed the beeves and helped to skin them. One man made a fire near some trees, away from the house. As soon as the beeves were skinned the negroes acted like dogs, they were so hungry. With the help of father and uncle, the white men kept them off till the meat was broiled, and then did not let them have as much as they could eat. Father did not have bread for them. Mother prepared dinner for the white men.

After dinner, Mr. Smith explained to father how he came to be lost on the prairie. He said he had a plantation on the Brazos river near Major Bingham's. * * * The negroes were so enfeebled from close confinement that they could not travel. He rested one day, and would have reached home the next night if he had not got lost. He had been absent some time, and did not know the Brazos river had overflowed. He said he had a sister and her children on his plantation. Her name was Terry. He asked father if he knew them, but father did not. He knew Major Bingham; had met him in Harrisburg the fall before. He did not suppose there had been any casualty, or he would have heard, as Mr. Bingham lived twenty-five miles below.

Mr. Smith asked Uncle James to guard the negroes till he and his men could sleep. The men slept, but he could not. * * * Father told him he had some brandy for medical use, and advised him to take some. After drinking a glass, he went to sleep. Uncle James guarded the negroes. They did not need watching, for after dark they went to sleep and did not wake till morning. They were so destitute of clothing, mother would not permit us children to go near them. Next day they cooked their meat before they began eating.

' Next morning, Mr. Smith sent for Mr. Dyer, paid for the cattle, bought more beeves, and asked father's permission to stay till he could send to his plantation for assistance. Harvey Stafford offered to go. He said he knew Frank Terry.¹ After three or four days, he and Frank returned. Mr. Smith's body servant, Mack, came with them and brought a wagon and team and clothing for the

¹Son of the Mrs. Terry mentioned above. It was he that raised the Terry Rangers, who made themselves so famous during the Civil War.

negroes. Mack made them go to the creek, bathe, and card their heads. After they were dressed, he marched them to the house for mother and us little girls to see. He tried to teach them to make a bow. They laughed and chattered like monkeys. They did not understand a word of English. All the men and boys in the neighborhood came to see the wild Africans.

Mr. Smith had gone to Mr. Stafford's. He came back the next day and was glad to meet his nephew and servant. They had brought him a horse and saddle. He had a large scaffold built over a trench and made a fire under it. He butchered the beeves and dried the meat over the fire. After a few days he sent Frank Terry and Mack home with the negroes.

The stock of cattle on the place was for sale. Mr. Smith and Mr. Woodruff bought them, and engaged Uncle James Wells to take charge of them until they could move them. Mr. Woodruff was a Baptist preacher. Mother asked him to preach in our neighborhood, but he failed to do so. He lived near Columbia, had a large family, and was engaged in farming. Messrs. Smith and Woodruff's stay with us was very pleasant. The friendship formed at that time between Mr. Smith and father continued as long as they lived. When Mr. Smith bade mother goodbye, he told her he would send her a barrel of flour as soon as the schooner came to Brazoria. She said she had never expected to see a barrel of flour again. We were very lonesome after our company left.

As there was no school in the neighborhood, mother made us

March, 1834.—*Farming on the Brazos.*

study our lessons every day. At noon, we recited to Uncle James or father.

The spring opened fine, no cold weather, corn up and growing. The farmers were planting cotton. Father had two bushels of corn left. He said if there was no cold weather at Easter he would have it ground. We had been without bread three weeks. Mother made a cheese every day. Father killed a deer on Saturday. He cut up the meat and dried it over a fire, and we ate it for bread.

Mother and I had been spinning. Father needed plow lines, and there was not any rope in the country. The men made their ropes out of hides and the hair from the manes and tails of horses. The

hair rope is a Mexican product called a *cabris*. The Mexicans only used two sticks of wood to twist the hair. Making ropes from the hides of cattle and horses was a tedious process. First they would stretch a large hide on the ground and cut a piece in the center the size of a dollar. Then they would cut round and round till they had four long strands. They scraped off the hair, and soaked the hide in ashes and water. After it was greased, it was wound in four balls and hung up and platted. The name of the rope made this way is lariat, a Mexican word. I spun thread and mother made the plough-lines. I soon learned to plat straw and ropes. The women made hats for the men out of palmetto and straw. They made bonnets out of a plant called a bonnet squash.

April, 1834.—*Trouble between Mr. A—— and Mr. M——.*¹

There has been considerable trouble between two of our neighbors. Mr. —— A—— accused Mr. M—— of marking and branding his (A——'s) yearlings. Father tried to settle the trouble, but did not succeed. Mr. A—— went to Harrisburg and complained to J. W. Moore, the Mexican alcalde. The court came to our house and sent for the defendant. They did not try the case that evening, but let Mr. M—— go home till next day and sent for all the men in the neighborhood. The court was composed of Judge David G. Burnet, John W. Moore, the Mexican alcalde, and others. The lawyers were William B. Travis, Patrick Jack, and his brother, W. H. Jack, and R. M. Williamson, nick-named Three-legged Willie.

That evening Mr. Smith and Mr. Woodruff came with men to gather the cattle. Mr. Smith brought a wagon, provisions, and a negro man to cook. He also brought mother some flour and coffee. He said he expected to meet Mr. Cartwright, the owner of the land and cattle. Father told him Mr. Cartwright had arrived, and was at Mr. Stafford's; also, that the judge, lawyers, and alcalde were present, and that they would hold court next day to try M—— for stealing. Mr. Smith knew the men; he met them in Brazoria. They had gone hunting. Mr. Smith said he would butcher two calves and have a barbecue. Mother said she would be very much obliged if he would, as all the men in the neighborhood would be present.

¹These initials are not those of the persons concerned.—EDITOR QUARTERLY.

The Reminiscences of Mrs. Dilue Harris. 101

The hunters returned with plenty of game. Mr. Smith invited them to his camp. They had lariats for ropes, and drove stakes in the ground and tied their horses to feed on the grass. Near our house there was a grove of trees. There were four large trees that almost formed a square. Near the trees there was a large petrified log. It had almost turned to stone. We children built a playhouse under the four large trees. We had put moss on the petrified log for a seat. The men took possession of our playhouse, spread their blankets on the ground for beds, used their saddles for pillows, and sat on the petrified log. Each man had a knife, a tin cup, a gun, and a bottle gourd.

Mr. W. B. Travis took supper with our family. He and several of the gentlemen from Harrisburg were going after the trial to San Felipe, and father decided to go with them. Mr. Travis said he would assist father to locate land. The land office was at that place, San Felipe de Austin, where all public business was transacted. It was situated on the west bank of the Brazos river, about thirty miles above where we lived.

April, 1834.—Court under the Live Oak Trees.

The next day the men began to arrive early. Several ladies came with their husbands to visit mother. Mr. M——, the accused, was the first man on the ground, and by one o'clock there were twenty-five or thirty people present. Mr. Moses Shipman came early. He lived five miles below our house. He had four grown sons, who came with their father. Mr. Shipman was horrified that one of the neighbors should be accused of stealing. He said that if M—— was found guilty he would be sent to Anahuac or San Antonio, and probably to Mexico to work in the silver mines. He said he would much rather have paid Mr. A—— for the yearling than to have a family left destitute in the neighborhood.

Mr. Smith prepared dinner for the crowd. The trial began at eleven o'clock, and the defendant plead not guilty. A—— proved that a yearling with M——'s mark and brand was sucking his (A——'s) cow. W. B. Travis was attorney for M——, and Patrick Jack for A——. After argument on both sides, the jury pronounced the defendant guilty. W. B. Travis gave notice of an appeal. Judge Burnet granted the accused a second hearing. Mr. Ben Fort Smith

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proposed to the court to adjourn till everybody present should have dinner. He got A—— to one side, bought the cow and yearling, sent A—— home, and when the case was called again there was no evidence against M——. Mr. Smith claimed the cow and yearling. He said the branding had been done through a mistake and the defendant was discharged. Judge Burnet admonished him to be more careful in the future. Mr. Smith and father had a good laugh after the trial. Father said it was the most perfect farce he had ever seen. All the men in the neighborhood were rejoiced at the way it terminated.

This was the first act in the A—— and M—— tragedy.

Two of the young men proposed to mother to have a dance. They said they would go and fetch some young ladies. Mother objected. She said that if there was a preacher she would ask him to preach. She said she had been in Texas nearly a year and had not heard a sermon. One young man said he never had heard a sermon. Mother asked Mr. Woodruff to preach. He agreed, but did not have a bible. Mother's bible was lost when we were shipwrecked the year before. No one offered to go for a bible. Mr. Travis said he would send mother one if he could find it in San Felipe. Mr. Woodruff prayed and exhorted the people to lead pure lives. Mrs. Stafford and mother sang the hymn "On Jordan's stormy banks I stand and cast a wishful eye." The preacher sang, "Come, thou fount of every blessing."

Mr. M—— was not present at the religious exercise in the evening. The neighbors went home. Next morning father, Mr. Travis and R. M. Williamson started for San Felipe. The alcalde and lawyers returned to Harrisburg, and David G. Burnet went to Brazoria.

April, 1834.—*Going to a Ball.*

Mr. Smith and Mr. Woodruff gathered half the cattle and were to return in May for the balance. Before the gentlemen left, they thanked sister and me for the use of our playhouse. Mr. Travis said he would send us some side combs. Smith said he would give sister one of his nephews, named Dave Terry. She said she did not want him if he was as ugly as Frank. Mr. Smith laughed at her and said if she would not have Dave, he would give her a cow

and a calf. I was very much mortified at what she said. I was nine years old, and she seven.

We were very lonesome after the men had gone. Sister and I cleared up our playhouse. The prairie was covered with flowers. Wild horses and deer would feed near the house, and if the horses became frightened, they formed in a half circle, then in a straight line, then one horse would gallop up and down the line, then they would form three or four together. After the maneuver, sometimes they would turn and run off.

One evening Mrs. Dyer sent her brother, Harvey Stafford, to invite mother to attend a dancing party at her house. We children were delighted. Mother had not been from home since we had been on the farm. Mr. Stafford went to the field for Uncle James and brother. We got there before dark. It was only two miles in the bottom. The house was a double log cabin with a passage between the rooms. The people soon began to arrive, among them several young ladies. Mr. A—— came with his family. Mr. M—— and family did not attend. He appeared to have a spite against every man in the neighborhood. Before dark a servant came in with a bunch of cane, each piece about twelve inches in length. He laid the pieces of cane on a chair, got a knife, split them, took out tallow candles, and lighted up the house. Mother had candle moulds. She asked Mrs. Dyer why she did not send and get them. Mrs. Dyer said she had never used candle moulds. She and her mother, Mrs. Stafford, used cane, or dipped candles.

As soon as the house was lighted, a negro man came in with a fiddle and commenced playing. The young people began dancing, and one of the boys asked me to dance. I never had danced; had been at a ball in Harrisburg, but did not dance, and had not seen any dancing but one time before we came to Texas. Then I thought it was horrible. It was New Year's night, 1830. We were living in St. Louis, Missouri. Some masked negroes came to father's house and danced the old year out and the new year in. I looked on and watched the different figures till I thought I could dance. Mr. Harvey Stafford asked me to be his partner in an old Virginia reel. I went on the floor and danced till morning. Mrs. Dyer told mother that dancing was the only amusement the young folks had in Texas. We went home next morning delighted with the ball.

Father returned from San Felipe. He had found the land office closed and could not transact any business. He met several friends from Missouri, among them James Kerr, a cousin of mother's. He said there was much excitement among the people in San Felipe. Stephen F. Austin had been a prisoner in Mexico since December 10, 1833. Father said there would be trouble with Mexico, as she had ordered the arrest of several of the most prominent men in Texas. He didn't have much confidence in Spanish justice or Mexican laws. He had been in the War of 1812 between England and the United States, and had seen Washington city after it was burned by the English. He was in Richmond, Virginia, when the theatre burned. He didn't attend it that night, but saw the horrors of that calamity. He resigned his position as surgeon in the army and went to Cuba for his health. He was arrested, put in prison, and remained there three years, not being released till peace was proclaimed between England and the United States. Mexico belonged at that time to Spain.

Mr. Travis sent sister and me a Sunday school book. There had been a Sunday school in San Felipe, but it was closed by the Catholic priest, Father Muldoon. R. M. Williamson sent us side-combs to pay us for the use of our playhouse. Mr. Travis sent mother word that there was not a bible for sale in San Felipe.

May, 1834.—Death of a little Boy.

There was a sad accident near our house. Mr. M—— was out with his children gathering moss, when his little boy fell out of the cart. One wheel passed over the child's chest. When his father went to him he was breathing. The accident happened near Mr. A——'s fence. Mr. A—— came for father and mother, and Mrs. A—— helped Mr. M—— home with his children. When father and mother got there the child was dead.

There was no lumber to make a coffin nearer than Harrisburg. Mother had a large dry goods box, and Mr. A—— used it to make a coffin. Mrs. M—— didn't have anything nice to bury the child in. Mother had some nice clothing. She had lost two children in St. Louis in the year 1831. One was a babe, the other a boy four years old. She used my little brother's clothes to lay out the corpse.

The next day we all went to the funeral. Mrs. M—— and children rode in a cart with the corpse. Mother and Mrs. Dyer and their children rode in Mr. Dyer's cart. The men went on horseback. They buried the child near Mrs. Roark's. Father, Messrs. A——, Dyer, Cottle and Sam Bundick filled up the grave. There was no singing nor praying over the dead.

It was late in the evening when we got home. Mrs. Roark had prepared dinner for us before we left her house. She had a good dinner, but no bread nor coffee. Mr. M—— and family would not take dinner with her. Mr. M—— seemed to be indignant. Mother asked Mrs. M—— to stay all night with her, as it was dark and the road was very bad and there was a creek to cross, but Mrs. M—— declined. A—— and M—— had to travel the same road, as they lived near each other. Mr. A—— stopped at our house. He told father he believed it was M——'s intention to murder him. He said when the accident happened he was ploughing near the fence. He heard the children screaming, but couldn't see them, the timber was so thick. When he got to the road the oxen were walking and feeding on the grass. He stopped them. The children said their brother had fallen out, and he went back to the child just as the father did. M—— said he was gathering moss, had seen a deer, and was trying to shoot it. He asked him to go for the doctor, but had not spoken a word to him while he was making the coffin and burying the child. Father told him he didn't think M—— was a man that would commit murder. A—— didn't appear to be satisfied. He went home by Mr. Dyer's and did not pass the road near M——'s any more, though the distance was three miles by Mr. Dyer's.

This ended the second act in the A——-M—— tragedy.

May, 1834.—*Ben Fort Smith's African Negro.*

We had quite an excitement and considerable fright in this month. Father and brother were in Harrisburg, having work done by the blacksmith. There came a man with a letter from Mr. Smith notifying father and the men in our neighborhood that one of his Africans had run away. They had followed the negro to Mr. Shipman's and there had lost his track. He had a large knife he had stolen, also a flint and steel for striking fire. Uncle James Wells was at home at the time, but the next day Mr. Stafford sent for him to

help raise the cotton gin. Mother requested him to come home before night, as she was afraid of the runaway negro, as he would probably come to our house to get something to eat. Uncle said if we fastened the door no one could get in. The house was two stories high, and was built of hewed logs. It had a brick chimney and two doors and three windows all fastened inside with heavy wooden shutters. The doors were made of heavy timber put together with wooden pins and with wooden bars across. No iron was used except in the fireplace and in nailing down the floor.

When Uncle James left he said if he didn't get home mother need not be uneasy, for the negro would be afraid to come near the house. We did not worry much about the negro till late in the evening. Mother said if she could fasten the doors outside she would go and stay all night with Mrs. Dyer. Mr. Dyer had moved out of the bottom and built a new house one mile from ours.

Mother milked the cows before night, fetched in water and the axe, barricaded the doors and windows, and prepared to go to the upper rooms. There were no stairs, and we had to use a ladder. She took the gun, axe, and water up, put out the fire, carried the babe up and then sister, and by this time it was dark. I carried up candles to last all night. Sister and babe were both screaming, but stopped crying when mother brought up a light. She drew up the ladder and placed it over the opening. The babe and sister went to sleep. Mother said for me to go to bed. I was not sleepy, but went. She sat up knitting. I could not sleep, for I thought it was neglecting mother for me to go to bed. Father said I was my mother's right hand. He would tell me when he was leaving home to take good care of mother and the children.

We had not been still more than an hour when the dogs began barking. Mother set the light in a box and hung blankets around it to darken the room. We knew by the fuss the dogs were making somebody was in the yard. I was very much frightened till mother told me she thought it was impossible for anybody to get in, and that if anyone did, she would shoot when she could see, if he attempted to come up.

We did not have long to wait, but soon knew it was the runaway negro. He fought the dogs and ran them under the house. He talked and yelled, but we could not understand his gibberish. The

dogs attacked him several times, but he would whip them, and they would run under the house, bark, howl, and whine. Both the children woke up and added their cries to the horrid din. The negro tried to open the doors and windows. He tried to break them down with a fence rail. Mother would have shot if she could have got sight of him. He stayed in the yard nearly all night, and then robbed the chicken house. We could hear the chickens when he carried them away. Mother hissed on the dogs, and they followed him some distance. She waited till they came back, then moved us down to the room below. She did not open the doors; she said she would sleep, and if the negro returned would shoot at him.

She had slept only a few minutes when there was another commotion among the dogs. It was daylight. We could see through an opening between the logs two men with a cart and oxen, and mother opened the door. The travelers were Germans, Mr. Habermacher and son, Stephen, from Harrisburg, going to Mr. Stafford's to work on the cotton gin. It was a great relief to see them. They had met father, and he said he would be home the next day. The old gentleman could not speak English, but the son could. They had camped near our house and had heard the dogs and thought they were after game. They said the negro must have heard them as they were singing. The Germans stayed with us till Uncle James came home. They expected to have gotten to our house by eight o'clock, but could not see the house.

Father came home. He had bad news. Mexico had sent more troops to Anahuac and a man-of-war to blockade the port at Galveston Island.

The runaway negro stayed in the neighborhood several months. The men tried to capture him, but did not succeed. A Mr. Battle made friends with the negro and fed him and tried to get him in the house, but he was too smart. Mr. Battle caught him and tried to tie him, but the negro cut Mr. Battle severely. He then left our neighborhood, crossed the Brazos and Colorado rivers, and made his way to the Navidad bottom. He was often seen by travelers, and was called the Wild Man of the Navidad. It was said there was a negro woman with him, but some said it was an Indian squaw. Others said a schooner loaded with Africans had been lost on the

western coast and several negroes had made their escape. I never heard anything more about the African.¹ Father said he would have thought mother was only scared if the negro's footprints had not been seen in the yard, and the rail he used in trying to force an entrance. We children did not get over the fright for many days.

May, 1834.—*School near Oyster Creek.*

Father, while in Harrisburg, engaged a school teacher, a Mr. David Henson. He had just arrived. A schooner from New Orleans with emigrants for Austin's colony had run the blockade at Galveston Island and landed at Harrisburg. I remember the names of some of them: Clinton Harris, son of John R. Harris, deceased; Mr. Mann, wife and two step-sons; Flournoy Hunt; Sam Allen; Mr. Pruitt and two daughters; and Mr. Kokernot and wife, young married people, were among them. Mr. Kokernot was German, his wife French.

Mr. Doby brought dry goods and groceries. One of the Iiams boys came home with father and brother. He stayed a few days. Brother Granville went back with him and brought out the school teacher. He was an Irishman, old, ugly, and red-headed.

The next thing was a schoolhouse. There was a log house halfway between the place where we lived and Mr. Dyer's. It had been used for a blacksmith shop. The floor was made of heavy hewed logs, called puncheons, and there were no windows nor any shutter to the door. Father and Mr. Henson canvassed the neighborhood to make up the school. Mr. Dyer's three children, William, Foster, and Harvey, and Mr. A——'s three went. Mr. M—— would not subscribe. We three children, with four young men, Leo Roark and his brother Jackson, Mr. Calder and Harvey Stafford made up the school. Mrs. Roark did not send her daughters. She said she would send them in the fall, as the boys would then have to gather the crops. Brother and I were the only children that could read and write. The young men and brother could cipher.

¹After General Santa Anna invaded Texas in 1836, if the Wild Man of the Navidad was Ben Fort Smith's negro, he probably left Texas with General Filisola's army on the retreat.

June, 1834.

School commenced the first of June. We had a good teacher, but he was out of his proper place in Texas. There were but few school-books among the people. The teacher made the multiplication table upon pasteboard. Mother gave her handbox for the purpose. Father had a fine assortment of books, but few schoolbooks.

The crops were very promising. There were plenty of roasting ears for cooking. We had been three months without bread. By the last of June the corn was too hard to cook. Uncle James said that if he had a piece of tin he could make a grater. Mother gave him a tin bucket. He unsoldered it, drove holes in it with a nail, fastened it on a board, and grated meal for supper. Mother gave part of the bucket to Mrs. Dyer. None of our neighbors had tin-ware; they used wooden vessels. Mrs. Roark had a Mexican utensil for grinding corn, called a *metate*. It was a large rock which had a place scooped out of the center that would hold a peck of corn. It had a stone roller. It was hard work to grind corn on it, but the meal made good bread. Some of our neighbors had small mills called steel mills. Mr. Bell had a mortar scooped out of wood, with a hanging pestle and sweep which had to be pulled down. The weight of the sweep would lift the pestle. It was fun for the children to pull the sweep down and see it go up. When the neighbors would meet, the first word would be, "Is your corn getting hard? Have you had any bread? Send to my house and get meal or corn."

We were in high spirits. Our school was doing well. Everybody had plenty of bread and potatoes and other vegetables. Mr. Galatin, from Harrisburg, came to stay with us. He was sick and came for medical advice. Father knew him in Missouri. He brought us children some pretty sea shells. He rode a gentle pony, and he said sister and I could ride the pony to school.

The men in the neighborhood were preparing to celebrate the Fourth of July. They were to have a barbecue and ball. The ladies were to have a quilting and the young people anticipated a fine time, as invitations had been sent to other settlements.

Toward the last of June our neighborhood was in a state of excitement. A large company of Mexicans arrived with a drove of horses for sale. The Mexicans pretended they did not understand English.

All the men were confident that they were spies. Mr. Leo Roark could speak some Spanish, and he acted as interpreter. The men kept on with their preparations for the Fourth of July, but they were very cautious in their conversation, as they were confident the Mexicans understood every word that was said. The Mexicans were very friendly and kind, and there were two or three of them that seemed to be perfect gentlemen. They visited the people and made very liberal offers in trying to sell horses. They would sell on time and return in the fall for the money. Leo Roark went with them to interpret. They paid him well for his time and wanted him to travel with them, but his mother would not give her consent.

July, 1834.

The Fourth of July was a fine day. The barbecue was near Mr. Dyer's house, and the quilting and ball were at the house. The ladies spent the day in conversation and work, the young people dancing in the yard, the children playing under the trees, and the men talking politics. There was no political speaking, as the Mexicans were present. The politicians and lawyers from San Felipe and Harrisburg were there, but had little to say. The people were very anxious about Stephen F. Austin, as he was in Mexico, a prisoner. Three of the Mexicans ate dinner and were very sociable. One of them danced a Virginia reel, but the others could not dance anything but waltzes, and our young ladies did not waltz.

Well, it was a grand affair for the times. The young people thought it magnificent. The music was two fiddles, played turn about by three negro men. One negro man got an iron pin and clevis, used at the end of a cart tongue or plough beam, and beat time with the fiddles. Another man beat a tin pan. Well, the young people danced to that music from three o'clock in the evening till next morning.

Mother went home with her family before day. Everybody else stayed all night. We ate barbecued meat, all sorts of vegetables, coffee, fowls, potatoes, honey, and corn bread, but no cakes, as there was no flour in the country. The whiskey gave out early in the evening, and there was no fuss or quarreling. Everybody went home in a good humor, none more so than the negro musicians, as

they were paid for playing the fiddles and beating the clevis and tin pan.

This was the second time we attended a Fourth of July celebration in Texas. The first time was in Harrisburg. I remembered the Fourth of July celebrations in St. Louis. I had seen the militia parade, drums beating, flags flying, cannon firing, but the glory was not to be compared with that of the Fourth of July in the year 1834, near Stafford's Point on the Brazos, about fifteen miles from Harrisburg.

The Mexicans left shortly after the Fourth. They separated into three divisions, one party going to Brazoria, the others to Anahuac and Nacogdoches. The Mexicans behaved well while they were among us. They spent money freely, and paid for all they needed, but the people were glad when they were gone. They did not sell many horses in the neighborhood.

Mr. Gallatin swapped his gentle pony for a wild horse. Father tried to persuade the old man not to swap, but he would not be advised. He had the wild horse tied to a tree till the Mexicans were gone. One of the Mexicans put a big saddle on the pony, with a girth and bridle made of hair, lariat, blanket, bottle gourd, and other things too numerous to mention, then got on and stuck his big spurs in the pony's side, struck it with a quirt, and started. Sister and I cried all day about the pony. Mother was provoked. She said she would have bought the pony if Mr. Gallatin would have sold it. The next night the wild horse broke the lariat and ran off. We children were glad it was gone. Uncle James and three of the young men tried to find it, but could not.

August, 1834.—One of the Neighbors leaving Texas.

Mr. Stafford left Texas in June, and his wife was to leave in a few days. They had some property in the United States that required their attention. Mrs. Stafford came to see mother. She said she would not return to Texas, as she did not intend to bring any more slaves to Mexico. She was Mr. Stafford's second wife, and had two small children. They were to travel over land, as she was going to take a negro man and woman with her. She could have gone on the schooner from Anahuac, but would have been

arrested in New Orleans for bringing slaves into the United States. She had friends in San Augustine near the boundary line between Mexico and the United States, and they were to help her. Father advised her to leave the negroes. He said she might have trouble, as the United States government had Monroe Edwards under arrest for running negroes into the States of Louisiana and Mississippi. She said the man was anxious to go, that he had parents living in Louisiana, 'near where she was going. She had a good hack and two mules to travel with. All the neighbors gave her letters to mail to friends in the United States. Adam Stafford was to go with her to Lynchburg on the San Jacinto river. He had cotton on the schooner at Harrisburg, but could not send it out till he got a permit from the custom-house officer at Anahuac. Mexico had a revenue cutter at Galveston Island. All the neighbors were sorry to see Mrs. Stafford go.

September, 1834.

Our school closed the last day of August. The young men and boys had to gather the crops. Cotton picking was the order of the day. Everybody was at work, and the only discontented person among us was Mr. Gallatin. He could not get over the loss of his horse. Our school teacher, Mr. Henson, left the first of September. He said he would return during the winter.

Mr. Adam Stafford returned from Anahuac. He went with his step-mother to the Neches. He said she was getting along very well. Mother was glad to hear from Mrs. Stafford, for she had been very kind to our family. All the neighbors missed her. Mrs. Dyer and Mrs. Neal, her step-daughters, felt her loss very much.

Father went to Harrisburg. He had a bale of cotton and three or four hundredweight of hides. He made a large sleigh like those used in Missouri for driving on the snow. He had a gentle yoke of oxen. He loaded the sleigh with cotton and hides. Mr. Gallatin got ready to leave. He was well, but grieving about his horse. Uncle James and Leo Roark had spent ten days looking for the horse, but could not find him. They said he must have gotten with the mustangs.

Mother made a list of things she needed. Father asked us children what he should bring us from Harrisburg, and we gave him

a list. He said it would take a large wagon to haul all we wished. He took our measure for shoes. Sister told him to get two pairs of shoes for each of us, two pairs of red shoes and two pairs for every day wear. He did not promise. He loaded the sleigh with one bale of cotton and the hides. Mr. Gallatin sat on the cotton. Both had guns, and they went prepared to camp. After an absence of several days, he returned with the red shoes and other necessities we had been without for months, and also some old newspapers a gentleman gave him. The papers were published in New Orleans. He brought Brother Granville boots and a fine hat, and got clothes for the boys that were picking cotton. Father sold his cotton for a good price. After supper he took down his shot pouch and handed the babe a pair of blue slippers. He did not get flour. There was not a barrel of flour in Harrisburg, but there was a schooner detained at Anahuac, loaded with flour, salt, sugar, and other groceries.

Father got home late Saturday evening. We children were up early next morning. We were so happy over our new shoes we could not sleep. Uncle James and the boys laughed at us. Father said he had no idea how new shoes would run us crazy. Mother said she was not surprised, it had been such a long time since we had had any new clothing. When we came up to Harrisburg in the year 1833, sister and myself were the only little girls that had nice shoes. There was a shoemaker living at Harrisburg named Paddy Brown. His shoes were so ugly I said I would not wear Paddy Brown's shoes. The neighbors would join and tan deer and cow hides, but it was rough leather. When my nice shoes wore out I had to wear "paddies," as we called Paddy Brown's shoes.

October, 1834.

The people were all very busy gathering their crops. It was the first year that father ever engaged in farming. He was well satisfied. He said if he were the owner of a wagon he would be one of the aristocracy. He said our neighbors were divided into three classes: those that owned wagons were the aristocracy; the second class owned carts; as he had a sleigh he belonged to the lower class. Mr. Cotie, a Frenchman, owned a big wagon and six yoke of oxen.

He hauled freight from Brazoria to San Felipe. He said father was the only grandee among the people, as he rode in a sleigh.

There was no one that made wagons or carts. There was a wheelwright and he had a turning lathe, but could not do heavy work. Some of the men sawed wheels from logs and made vehicles called trucks. Father was having work done on the house; he was going to take off the old roof and have it repaired. All the men and boys were to help. The young men said if mother would let them dance they would put the new roof on and clear the yard in one day. Mother consented, and all the men came except Mr. M——. He would not have anything to do with his neighbors. It did not take long to repair the house. The boards were three feet in length and six inches in width.

The boys went down in Mr. Shipman's settlement and fetched four young ladies. They with Mrs. Roark's four young daughters, were enough for dancing. Mr. Adam Stafford had sent a negro woman the day before to do the cooking. Before it was dark the dancing began. The girls and young ladies all had new dresses and shoes. I suppose I was the happiest child in the world that night. All the young men danced with me. There were five little girls aged from twelve to eight, and as there were only six young ladies and three married ladies to dance, the little girls came in for a great deal of attention.

Father asked the young men why there were no weddings. He said he had been nearly a year among them and there had been but one. That was Mr. William Neal and Miss Mary Stafford. One young man said that they were waiting for the priest to come from Mexico, as it would be too much trouble to be married the second time. When there was no priest among the people, those who married had to sign a written contract to remarry when the priest came round. It often happened that the priest performed the marriage ceremony for the parents and baptized the children at the same time. He would spend three or four days in the neighborhood. The people would gather, and then there would be religious service, weddings, dancing, feasting, and a good time generally. I often wished the priest would come around so that there could be a wedding in our neighborhood.

All pleasures must end, and our ball came to an end very unex-

pected to me. Two of the girls and myself, about four o'clock in the morning went to an outhouse used for storing cotton and sat down to talk. I lay down and went to sleep. The next thing I knew the sun was up. Everybody had gone home and mother was calling sister and me to breakfast.

November, 1834.—*The A—— and M—— Tragedy.*

The enmity between Messrs. A—— and M—— culminated in murder. There had been a spell of cold weather and a severe rain storm. It was the first cold weather since we had been in Texas. All outdoor work stopped. Father was going to Harrisburg with a load of cotton, but the cold weather prevented him. He had been sick for several days. One Sunday after dark Mr. Dyer came to the gate and called for father. He was sick in bed, and Uncle James went to the gate. We were not surprised, as it was not uncommon to call for the doctor. After a few minutes uncle came in and Messrs. Stafford, Dyer, Neal, A——, and Harvey Stafford were with him. Mother set chairs for them, but they would not be seated. Mr. A—— stepped to the bed and told father he had shot M——. He said he did not think he had killed him, and he wanted father to go and assist him in getting Mr. M—— home. He said he was hunting, and found a place in his back fence where bears had passed through. He set his gun down against a tree and was going to fix the fence, when he turned around and saw M—— in the act of shooting at him. M——'s gun missed fire. As he was trying to shoot the second time, A—— got his gun. As M—— fired, he stumbled. A—— fired at the same time. His shot struck M—— in the left side. M—— had killed a deer and had it tied on his back. After he fell to the ground he asked A—— to take the deer off his back and go for the doctor. Mr. A—— did as requested, put his coat under M——'s head, and dragged the deer away, so that if wolves were near they would not trouble the wounded man. After making Mr. M—— as comfortable as circumstances would permit, he went home, told his wife what had happened, saddled his horse, went to the house of Mr. Neal, his near neighbor, and asked Neal to go with him to Mr. Dyer's. Mrs. Neal went with him, as she had no one to stay with her. When they got to Mr. Dyer's they found the two brothers, Adam and Harvey Stafford, there, and asked them to go to the assistance of Mr. M——. They thought it advisable to

get the doctor and all go together. Our house and Mr. Dyer's were on the edge of the prairie, and the other families lived in the bottom. It was only one mile between the two houses.

Father said he could not go, and advised them to get five men to go, and if they found M—— alive, to carry him home, and, if dead, to guard the body till they could get men from Mr. Shipman's neighborhood. The men were all young; three of them were married. Harvey Stafford said that he would go for assistance. The others returned with Mr. A——. All of them appeared to be scared, as it was the first time that that had ever happened in the neighborhood. After a couple of hours, Mr. Cotic and the Boark boys came and said Harvey Stafford sent them. Father told them to go near Mr. M——'s house and see if he had been carried home; if not, they were to come back to our house and wait for Mr. Shipman. They returned after a half hour and said that M—— was dead. They could see a torchlight near A——'s house, and found the men waiting. They had made a fire, gathered cane for torches, and had A——'s cart and oxen ready to carry the corpse home.

After midnight Mr. Shipman and sons, Edward and John, came. They stopped to warm, for it was very cold weather. Mr. Shipman said he did not know what to do. Father told him he was the oldest man and had resided longest in the neighborhood, so he must hold an inquest, take down evidence, arrest Mr. A——, put him under guard, and send him to Harrisburg to the Mexican alcalde. The Messrs. Shipman went on after warming and drinking coffee. Father said he would go in the morning and make an examination of the body and would give a certificate of death.

Mother and father did not sleep much that night. It was a horrible calamity to happen so soon after the ball at our house. It was then remembered that M—— had passed our house twice that night with his gun, but as every man carried a gun it did not attract attention. Mother had invited his family to the ball. Father had asked Mr. M—— to help repair the house, but he said it was impossible, as he had two bales of cotton picked out and lying on the ground, and would have to haul it to the gin, for Mr. Stafford had promised to have it ginned that day.

Early next morning Uncle James came for mother. He said Mrs. M—— accused all the men in the neighborhood of murdering

her husband. She said she had suspected M—— would kill A——, but did not suppose the neighbors would murder her husband.

A—— helped to carry the corpse home and waited near the house till the men had prepared it for burial. He went with them to Mr. Stafford's to make the coffin. He was the only carpenter in the neighborhood.

Mother and Mrs. Dyer did all they could for Mrs. M——; father was not able to go out the next day. The burial was at Mrs. Roark's. The funeral procession came by our house, Mrs. M—— and the children riding in the cart and sitting on her husband's coffin. Mr. Dyer sent his cart for her to ride in, but she would not use it.

The men carried the prisoner to Harrisburg. He was tried before Judge Burnet and acquitted.

This was the fourth act in the A——M—— tragedy.

When the men returned they were very much discouraged. Mexico had sent a ship to blockade Galveston and to compel the people to ship their cotton from the port of Anahuac. The schooners could not come direct to Harrisburg, as Mexico had threatened to garrison that place. This order from Mexico worked a great hardship on the people, as it compelled them to haul their cotton to Brazoria, the principal commercial town in Texas.

All the men in the neighborhood, as soon as they got home, prepared to go to Brazoria. Mr. Cotie was going to haul cotton for Mrs. M——, father, and Mrs. Roark. He had a large wagon as big as a schooner. He came overland with the Roark family from Missouri in the year 1824.

December, 1834.

Father and the other men started for Brazoria on the 25th of November. They said they would be home in three weeks. There was not a white man left in the neighborhood except Adam Stafford. A negro man drove his wagon, and Harvey Stafford the cart. Messrs. Dyer, Neal, and Bell were their own drivers. Father drove the sleigh loaded with peltry. He waited for those who lived above to come on. When the caravan arrived it was a laughable sight for us children. When we were living in St. Louis we had seen twenty and thirty large wagons at a time, with six or eight

mules, going to Santa Fe and military posts on the frontier. It was early in the morning when the wagons came in sight. All had loaded the day before at the Stafford gin. Mr. Cotie was in the lead. His wagon had been painted blue, and had a canvas cover. It was an imposing sight with six yoke of oxen. The Stafford wagon came next, and father's sleigh was in the rear. Uncle James had hired Mrs. M——'s cart and oxen to haul his cotton and had left the day before to go with the Messrs. Shipman. Mrs. M—— was not disposed to have anything to do with her neighbors. She had no relatives in Texas. She had four little girls too small to be any help. She would have driven her cart and oxen and hauled her cotton to Harrisburg herself if she could have put a bale of cotton on the cart. Mr. Cotie told her he would haul it and not charge her a cent, but would get what supplies she needed and would bring receipts and money to show how he had disposed of the cotton.

The men had been absent but a few days from home when a large tribe of Indians came and camped between our house and Mrs. Roark's. There were two or three hundred men, women, and children. They came in the night. They had a large drove of Indian ponies. One squaw came to the house to buy corn. She said they were good Indians. She could speak English. She said they lived at the Waco village at the falls of the Brazos river, and were going to Harrisburg to sell hides. They had a great many buffalo hides and bear skins. The women and children in our neighborhood were afraid of them. Mrs. Roark had a perfect horror of Indians. It was only five years since they had murdered her husband. Mrs. Dyer's experience with good Indians had been very trying. Mr. Dyer located land on the Colorado river, and was living there in the year 1825. One day he was at work in the bottom ploughing. The corn-field was not in sight of the house. Some Indians came and said, "Indian heap good, want something to eat." She gave them bread and milk, and while they were eating she left the house and ran with her babe to the bottom to her husband. They went into the thick cane and waited till night. Then they went near enough to the house to see if the Indians were gone. They could not see them, and went to the house. The good Indians were gone, but had robbed the house of clothing, provisions, and side saddles, and had carried off the cows and calves. When Mrs. Dyer first saw the

Indians she was in her stocking feet. She did not stop to put on her shoes, and they carried them off. They stole one horse. Mrs. Dyer did not nurse her babe, but reared it by hand. She had no near neighbor. She was without a morsel to eat and had only a little milk she had carried in a bottle when she ran from the house. They left their house after dark with the intention of going to Morton's Ferry on the Brazos, fifty miles from where they lived. Mr. Dyer was walking, and she riding and carrying the babe. She had to ride a man's saddle. They traveled all night, stopping only on the San Bernard to let the horse feed. They were nearly starved, and the babe was suffering greatly. They had gone above the Fort Bend road. They went on to San Felipe and got there that night. They received assistance, rested a few days, and then went to Mr. Stafford's. He was Mrs. Dyer's father. He would not consent for them to return to the Colorado, but gave them land to settle on.

Father and the men got home the last of the year 1834, well pleased with Brazoria, but found the people in great excitement. Mexico had landed soldiers at the mouth of the Brazos, and had established a garrison at Velasco. There had been a meeting of the people at Columbia. Their object was to call a convention to meet at San Felipe, the capital of Texas.

Father stayed one night at Mr. W. J. Russell's, where he met Mr. Bennet, Mrs. Russell's brother. Mr. Bennet came to Texas at the time father did. He had been sick ever since we were shipwrecked, in the year 1833. He said if he was back in Kentucky with his negroes nothing on earth could induce him to come to Texas. Father said Mr. Bennet would die, as he had consumption.

The farmers sold their cotton for a good price and bought family supplies to last nearly a year. It was a great relief when the men got home.

January, 1835.

The Indians did not trouble anybody. They traded basket moccasins embroidered with beads. If they had been so disposed, they could have murdered the men, as there were twenty Indians to every white man. Mother said she was not scared about the Indians. She had gone through such a night of horror with the runaway

negro, she did not think anything could scare her. She said that within a period of two years she had been shipwrecked, threatened by the wolves and buzzards, frightened by Ben Fort Smith and his Africans, and besieged by the runaway negro, and did not think fate had anything else of the kind in store for her.

Father, Uncle James Wells, and Harvey Stafford came home together. Mr. Cotie sent Mrs. M——'s supplies by Uncle James, as he was to take her cart and oxen home in the morning. Mr. Cotie's wagon was too cumbersome to drive in the bottom. Early next morning Mr. Cotie came to go with Uncle James to give Mrs. M—— her money and settle with her. She was so peculiar he wanted a witness to the settlement. She had four bales of cotton and the weight was near two thousand pounds. He had bought flour, sugar, coffee, and other things. Harvey Stafford was a wild boy aged eighteen years. He offered to go, saying that the widow was his special charge. If she had any more cotton to sell or wood to cut, he was the man to do it. Father told him that it would be best to wait for her daughters to grow up. He said no, he wanted the whole family. Mr. Cotie settled with Mrs. M—— without any trouble.

Mrs. M—— was not twenty-five years old, and was very handsome. * * * The neighbors did all they could to make her comfortable. They would have sent her to friends in the United States if she would have gone. She distrusted everybody. Her husband had not located land. He had bought twenty acres from Mr. Stafford, and had built a small house, but had not made the first payment at the time of his death. Mr. Stafford offered to pay for the house, buy her corn, cattle, and hogs, and send her and her children to her father * * *. She would not go, but commenced ploughing. Her husband had leased the ground for three years. The men went and ploughed and planted the crops for her. Mr. Adam Stafford said he would send his negroes to cultivate the land if others would help. All agreed to help but father. He said he would attend her family in sickness, furnish medicine, and not charge her a cent. The other men said they were willing.

February, 1835.

Uncle James decided not to live with us this year. He was going to oversee at the Stafford plantation.

Mr. Cotie and Uncle James teased Harvey Stafford every time they met him about his special charge, the widow. They told him he should have helped her hoe corn and cotton. He said he offered only to cut wood and sell cotton after the other men had raised it. Mother scolded them. She said their jokes were very wrong, as the lady's husband had been dead but a few months.

March, 1835.

The Indians left the first of March. We were glad to see them go. They sold their hides at Harrisburg. Clinton Harris, the son of John R. Harris, deceased, had opened a store there. The Indians left in the morning, the men with guns first, the squaws carrying their papposes tied on their backs, and leading the ponies, and the dogs following. The ponies were packed with buffalo robes, blankets, bear skins, pots and kettles, and things too numerous to mention. The children were riding in baskets suspended across the ponies' backs.

The farmers were planting cotton, and corn was up and growing. Father hired help that year. He was the only doctor in the neighborhood, and he was obliged to hire two boys. He had been well paid for the last year's practice. The people of Texas were doing well, and if it had not been for the uncertainty of the Mexican laws father could have located land and got a home. Mother was very much dissatisfied. She said she would go back to the United States if she could go by land. She said she never would cross the Gulf of Mexico again in a schooner. Father was well pleased with the country. He said Texas would be a great State in the future, and if it was not for the lawyers and land speculators there might not be any trouble with Mexico. The Mexicans were fighting among themselves, but he said Texas should not interfere.

Last week a schooner ran the blockade at Galveston Island and brought several immigrants to Harrisburg. The captain did not see anything of the Mexican revenue cutter; he thought she had been lost in a storm a few days before.

April, 1835.—*English Immigrants.*

About this time there was quite an addition to our neighborhood. Ten families from England had just arrived in Texas. They came

in a schooner from New York and landed at Anahuac. They were treated with the greatest kindness by the Mexican custom house officers. There were twenty or thirty of them. Some went to Liberty on the Trinity river. One woman, with her son and daughter, stopped at Harrisburg. She was a dressmaker and milliner. She was very much disappointed, as she had brought a stock of millinery goods from New York with the expectation of finding Harrisburg a large city. Three families of them came to our neighborhood. They met Mr. Cotie with his big wagon in Harrisburg, and inquired where they could rent houses and land. He told them Mr. Stafford had two vacant houses, and it would be no trouble to rent land. He brought them out. One man, Mr. Page, seemed to be the leader. Mr. Stafford told them that it was too late in the season to plant corn or cotton, but they could use his houses free of charge till next year. The men could hire out all the time, make rails, clear land, and work at the saw mill in Harrisburg.

Mr. Page was a very smart man. He had a wife and a girl babe. They all appeared to be good people, but they were sadly out of place in Texas. They had elegant clothing, silver ware and some fine furniture. Not one of them knew anything about farming or country life. They had all been reared in the city of London.

Two of the English families were named Adkins. One of the Mrs. Adkinses was a widow with a pretty daughter named Jane. Jane was lovely, dressed very fine, and could sing and play the guitar. The boys went crazy about her. Leo Roark and Harvey Stafford came to see mother to get her to give a ball, so they could get acquainted with the English beauty. She at first refused, but they teased and persuaded father till he said yes. The boys went from house to house inviting the people. Mother soon got things in order with help from the neighbors, and the happy day came. Harvey Stafford went to see the pretty Miss Adkins and offered to bring a horse and side saddle and escort her to the ball, but she could not ride. She had never rode a horse. There was nothing he could do but use the cart and oxen. There was a fine side saddle at his father's house which belonged to his step-mother. When the young lady refused to ride on horseback, Leo Roark borrowed the saddle and brought his sweetheart, Miss Mary Hodge. Harvey Stafford had a negro man to drive. He and Mr. Adkins, three ladies and

four children came riding in the cart, sitting on common chairs with rawhide seats. After all the trouble the boys had, the young lady did not dance, but sang and played the guitar. I did not go to sleep that night, for I had not forgotten going to sleep at our first ball. Well, the pretty English girl was very much admired. She was dressed in blue silk, with artificial flowers in her hair. When daylight came, all went home wishing the night had been six months long.

May, 1835.

Our English neighbors concluded to move. They were all sick and discouraged. Father advised them to go to California. Mr. Stafford was to take them, for he had to send his wagon to Brazoria for cotton gin machinery. The English had plenty of money, but it was gold, and they couldn't change it. There was but little money in the country. When the farmers sold their cotton, they did not get much dry goods, groceries, powder, lead, and farming implements. Father did not get much money for his practice. He received cattle and hogs. A cow and calf passed for ten dollars. Father bought oxen and a horse, and he said if he could get a wagon he would be wealthy. We used the sleigh for visiting and light hauling. Father told the young men that when they wanted to escort their sweethearts they could have his sleigh and oxen.

The English emigrants went, and the boys were heart broken at the departure of the pretty girl. My sweetheart, William Dyer, was true all the time. He was eleven years old and I was ten. He was Mr. Dyer's eldest son, and was the babe in arms when Mrs. Dyer ran from the Indians.

We were expecting to have a school soon. Mr. Henson was to open school the first of June. He was to begin with the girls and small children, and as soon as the crops were laid by all the young men were to attend. Mrs. M—— refused to send her little girls if Mr. A——'s children attended. Father said he would be glad if A—— would leave the neighborhood, as there would never be any peace while he and Mrs. M—— both lived there.

June, 1835.—*School and War.*

School commenced the first of June. There were only ten pupils,

three girls, six boys and one young man, Harvey Stafford. The teacher boarded among the neighbors.

We had been going to school two weeks when there was another excitement. Father went to Harrisburg and found the men making threats against the garrison at Anahuac. Mr. Andrew Briscoe had a large stock of goods there, and it was the chief port of entry east of the Brazos. Captain Tenorio, the Mexican custom-house officer, would not allow him to sell goods without a permit from the custom house. When father left Harrisburg the men and boys were drilling and threatening to disarm the garrison. Mr. Choate, Dave Harris, and father advised them not to do it, as Stephen F. Austin was a prisoner in Mexico, and it might endanger his life. This was very discouraging.

Mr. Stafford had heard from his father and step-mother. She was to return in the winter and take all their slaves to the United States. She did not have any trouble with those she took back the year before. She said she could do better than a man running slaves into the United States. She said that they got news from Mexico through the papers that it was the intention of the Mexican government to garrison every town in Texas and liberate the slaves. The United States government was to station troops at the Sabine river to prevent the slave holders from crossing, and it was to send also a warship to the Gulf of Mexico.

The school did well. There was no sickness. The grown young men started to school. Three of them and the teacher camped in the schoolhouse and did their own cooking. Mother and Mrs. Dyer gave them milk, butter and eggs, and they went home Friday evening. Mr. Henson spent Saturdays and Sundays with the neighbors. The young men were anxious for the school to be kept open in the summer, as they had to work in the fall and winter.

There was some trouble at Anahuac. A courier came to our house from Harrisburg, going to San Felipe with a dispatch, stating there had been fighting at Anahuac. Captain Tenorio had arrested Andrew Briscoe and Clinton Harris and put them in prison, and wounded several Texans. Clinton Harris went from Harrisburg to buy dry goods for Mr. Briscoe, when the Mexican officer, Captain Tenorio, ordered him not to move the goods. While he and his assistant, Mr. Smith, were going to the boat, they were fired on,

and Mr. Smith was wounded in the breast. Clinton Harris was released and the next day he returned to Harrisburg. He wrote out a statement and sent it to San Felipe to William B. Travis.

This news stopped our school, as the teacher and young men decided to go to Harrisburg. There had been a meeting at San Felipe which recommended that the garrison at Anahuac be disarmed. Mr. W. B. Travis went to Harrisburg where he raised a company of men mostly from San Jacinto and Buffalo Bayou. They took a cannon and put it on a cart used for hauling logs to

July, 1835.—*The Celebration of the Fourth of July after
the Fall of Anahuac.*

the saw mill. They shipped the men and cannon on a small schooner. They set sail for Anahuac and arrived there the last of June. They forced Captain Tenorio and the garrison to capitulate. Mr. Briscoe was released from prison. This broke up Anahuac as a port of entry. The Mexicans and the men under Mr. Travis boarded the schooner and returned to Harrisburg.

The citizens of Harrisburg had been preparing for a grand ball and barbecue before the trouble at Anahuac. When they heard the Mexicans would be brought there they sent word to the people of the different settlements to attend.

The disarming of the garrison at Anahuac was not approved by the older citizens. Those who had families with all they possessed in Texas wished rather to pay duties to Mexico than to fight.

Well, the Fourth of July brought out quite a crowd. The Texans and Mexicans arrived in time for the barbecue, but the ball was put off until the fifth. A man died in town the morning of the Fourth, and Mr. Choate, the musician, would not play till the corpse was buried. The men spent the day talking war and politics. Families from the country camped. Ladies were shopping and visiting and young people were having a good time. Mr. Travis and P. H. Jack had been prisoners in Anahuac in the year 1832. In this year they were having their revenge. Captain Tenorio walked among the people shaking hands with the men and acting as if he was the hero of the occasion. The Mexican soldiers sat and smoked and played cards. The funeral came off the morning of the fifth, everybody attending. Mr. Choate read the burial services, and after the

funeral we had dinner and then dancing. We danced in a new storehouse. It was built by Mr. Stafford. He would have brought dry goods and opened a store if the trouble at Anahuac could have been peaceably arranged. The Mexican officers were at the ball. They did not dance country dances. Mr. Kokernot and his wife were Germans. They waltzed, and Captain Tenorio danced with Mrs. Kokernot. She could speak French and Captain Tenorio also was a French scholar, so they danced and talked all the evening. She was handsome and he a fine looking man, and they attracted a great deal of attention.

The people went home on the sixth, the young folks happy, the old people gloomy. The Mexican prisoners were to be sent to San Antonio in a few days. The disarming of the garrison at Anahuac was without bloodshed. There was but one man wounded, and he was shot by the Mexicans when they arrested Mr. Briscoe and Clinton Harris.

Our school opened again on the tenth. The teacher said the young men and boys did not study. They talked war all the time and seemed to think that two or three hundred Texans could whip Mexico.

Major Bingham went to San Felipe, and on his return he stayed one night with father. He thought William B. Travis and others would keep up the agitation. He said there was an order from San Antonio to arrest several Texans and send them to Mexico for trial, but there was no one to make the arrest.

August, 1835.

Father was the only man in this neighborhood that had seen war. He said he had done his share in 1812. Mr. Henson and Major Bingham were both Irish and had seen when quite young the rebellion in Ireland in the year 1798. It seemed that they would be glad to fight England or the Indians. Both were ready to raise volunteers and would defend Travis and his companions if necessary.

The farmers had fine crops. Cotton was open and corn getting hard. Our school was doing well, but the people were in dread all the time. When the news was received in Mexico that Anahuac had been forced to surrender by the Texans, an order was issued to

Colonel Ugartechea to arrest seven Texans and send them to San Antonio to be tried by court martial. This was more than the people could bear. There was great excitement. A convention was called to meet at San Felipe the 12th of September. There was a meeting in our neighborhood to elect a delegate to this convention. The farmers had not much time to spare, but they would not see the Texans arrested.

There was a strange Mexican at San Felipe who said he was just from Mexico. He said there was a large army marching from Mexico to garrison San Antonio, Anahuac, Velasco and all towns in Texas. He said Stephen F. Austin had been liberated and would soon be home. He advised the people to stop holding political meetings and give up the men who disarmed the garrison at Anahuac. He spoke English and said he was a friend of Stephen F. Austin and to Texas. Our people did not believe a word the Mexican said. They thought the Mexican government had sent him to watch the Texans. Some of them would have had him arrested, but there was no jail in Austin's colony, and no one had time to guard the man. At the election in our neighborhood Mr. C. C. Dyer was chosen a delegate to the convention. Harrisburg elected Andrew Briscoe and William P. Harris. The convention was called to meet at San Felipe, the capital of Texas.

A priest, Padre Alpuche, disappeared. He had been traveling in Texas and Louisiana several years. He was loved by Protestants as well as Catholics. The young people looked for his arrival with the greatest pleasure. He would marry all those who had signed a certificate before the Mexican alcalde to remarry when the priest came. He would baptize the children, bury the dead, visit the sick and pray for the dying. He had not been in San Felipe for three years. When he appeared there he was riding a good mule. He said he had been in Europe and had landed at New Orleans and gone from there to Nacogdoches. He heard in New Orleans of the trouble in Texas. He did not take any part in political affairs, but pretended to be a friend to the Texans. He stayed a week in San Felipe, stopping at the boarding house. He could speak English and heard all the Texans had to say. He came in the night. One morning he saddled his mule and went to the river to water the mule, and that was the last time he was seen.

THE MEXICAN RAID OF 1875 ON CORPUS CHRISTI.¹

LEOPOLD MORRIS.

The country surrounding the little city of Corpus Christi, on the southern coast of Texas, has been the field of many bloody encounters which have helped to make the bravery of Texans stand out in bold letters.

Among the bloodiest of these contests were the raids of 1875 and 1878, the incidents of either of which would cause a thrill of horror to pass through one and make a tale almost too awful to relate.

In the seventies, Texas was thinly settled, sometimes fifty or sixty miles intervening between two homesteads or settlements; but every man carried a rifle in those trying times, and, like New England's early settlers, they were always ready for enemies, either savages or desperadoes. Many were the times that, when the morning dawned and the husband kissed his wife and little ones good-bye, it was good-bye forever. Such were the conditions which the pioneer Texan had to face and endure.

Early in the spring of 1875 a band of about one hundred and fifty men was formed at a place in Mexico called Las Quisamas, and under the leadership of a cruel and daring commander, José Cortina, started on a march towards Texas. After crossing the Rio Grande near Eagle Pass, they formed into four separate commands, their purpose being to first capture and plunder Corpus Christi, and then make it the base of their operations. As they advanced they murdered all who crossed their path, men, women, and even children. But the United States troops stationed at San Diego were on the alert, and after inflicting several defeats upon three of the bands, who fled towards the Rio Grande, they went in search of the fourth. Meanwhile, the fourth division, which had met no opposition as yet, halted just outside of Corpus Christi at a place now called the Oso. Here they camped on a road which was the main highway to the

¹This narrative has been made up from the statements of those who had personal knowledge of the raid, and from the notes of Mr. T. J. Noakes, together with his account of the affair, which is given entire.

city. There were in this band fifty men, heavily armed. They stopped all persons coming to or from the city, took their property, and made them prisoners. Some of the most prominent people of Corpus Christi were captured, among them being S. G. Borden,¹ George Franks, George Reynolds, Judge Gilpin, P. H. McManigle, Mrs. E. D. Sidbury, Mrs. R. R. Savage, and Mrs. Laura Allen, all but two of whom² are still living. It is said that Judge Borden, who was going to Sinton, a small settlement near Corpus Christi, was riding quietly along, when suddenly Jim Hunter, a friend of his, came dashing from a thicket beside the road, on horseback, and cried: "You had better turn back, Judge, for an old Mexican just told me that the treacherous Cortina and a band of cut-throats are holding up a part of the road." Borden, insisting that the Mexican had lied, started again on his way. Thereupon Hunter remarked, "Well, if you go on, I'll be hanged if I'm afraid to go"; so he turned and went with the Judge. They rode along for some distance, when, on turning a sharp corner in the road, they found themselves within a few yards of the enemy. Borden, being in a wagon, was unable to escape, and was immediately taken prisoner, but Hunter, being on a good, hardy mustang, got away. He hurried to Corpus Christi, and like Paul Revere of a hundred years before, he aroused the city by galloping through the streets and shouting with every breath, "The Mexicans, the raiders are coming!" A mass meeting was being held at the town hall that night, and a guard for the protection of the city was immediately formed; but arms and ammunition were lacking, and it was impossible to supply the large number of volunteers. At last, however, a detachment was organized and dispatched to attack the Mexicans on the main road.

At this time the Morgan steamers were running between Galveston and Corpus Christi, and one of them, the Aransas, was then in port. Women and children flocked to the pier and rushed in uncontrollable excitement on board the vessel, and in a few minutes it was crowded to its utmost capacity. Luckily, a large lumber schooner was also in the harbor, having arrived the night before from Lake Charles, La. This, too, was soon crowded. The schooner

¹A cousin of Gail Borden, originator of the famous condensed milk.

²P. H. McManigle and Judge Gilpin.

had not yet discharged her cargo of lumber, and with the added weight she sank into the water until the waves washed over her upper deck. Both the ships left the wharf and anchored some miles out at sea until the danger was passed.

It happened on this eventful day that some thirty or forty school girls had gone with their teacher for a picnic to a reef about three miles from the town. When their mothers heard news of the raid they became frantic, as all the men were on guard some miles distant or were out in search of the enemy. Finally a company of about twenty negro boys was formed, and they conducted the frightened children safely home.

In the meantime the raiders were still camped beside the road and amusing themselves by stripping their male prisoners and making them dance under the lash of the whip. The female captives took advantage of a moment when the Mexicans were busy with this diversion, and, darting into the thicket on one side of the road, made their escape. Soon after six o'clock that evening the raiders broke up camp, and to their amazement, found the female captives missing. This enraged them so that they cursed and tormented the remaining prisoners more than ever. Lashing the men together in pairs, they marched them in front of the band in the direction of Nuecestown, a hamlet some five miles distant. Under the cruel treatment accorded them, some of the captives knelt down and prayed for mercy, but none was granted. By and by they came to the store of George Franks, on the left-hand side of the road. On reaching the place the leader knocked at the door, which was promptly opened by an aged Mexican. The commander asked him to join their band, but he refused. He insisted, promising the old man a good share of the booty if he would only join them, but he would not consent. The leader asked him once more, this time using a threat and cursing him. At this the old Mexican closed the door in the cut-throat's face. This so enraged the leader that he rushed in after the old man and, catching him by the neck, he dragged him to the door and called to his men to tie his hands and feet with cords. He then ordered a rope suspended from a near-by tree, and he himself placed the frightened man beneath its branches and tightened the rope about his neck. Hearing the noise, Mr.

Franks immediately rushed to the scene and begged them to spare the life of his servant. At that moment two Mexicans snatched the rope and were about to strangle the poor old man, when Franks interceded, dealing one of the ruffians a staggering blow. Franks was immediately put in chains and was made the object of much abuse. The hanging proceeded and the victim was soon a corpse.

When the Mexicans left they took with them Franks' wagon and horses and all the plunder they could carry. The prisoners were again placed in front. They were forced to march on foot over rough roads, through prickly pear and thorny brush, and it was with fiendish delight that their tormentors followed in the blood-stained path. Presently a rustling in the brush caused a halt, and a scout was sent forward to ascertain its cause. He soon returned with the information that a herd of horses, driven by a white man, was some distance ahead. Three men were immediately dispatched to capture the herder. This commotion caused a stampede among the horses, they being fresh from the prairie and somewhat wild, and during the excitement the man made his escape. He proved to be Henry Stevens, of Nuecestown.¹

The night had settled before the party reached Nuecestown. Stopping near a large frame building in which the postoffice was then kept, the leader jumped from his horse and called a halt. The United States mail carrier who had just arrived with the evening mail from San Antonio, was made a captive and the mail taken and plundered. T. J. Noakes, who was postmaster at that time, afterwards wrote an interesting account of the raiders' visit to Nuecestown, which was found just recently among some old papers, and reads as follows:

"NUECESTOWN, NUECES COUNTY, TEXAS, May 13, 1875.

"On Good Friday, March 26, 1875, I was kept busy all day, having remittances to make to several business houses, that I wanted to send by the evening mail for goods that I had received a few days before, and if they had been sent off sooner I should have owed no man a cent.

¹Mr. Stevens is still living, and is actively engaged in the dairy business near Corpus Christi.

"After finishing my letters I made up the mail in readiness for the carrier who was about due, when a man named John Smith came into the store for some flour, and while in the act of handing him a parcel over the counter, I noticed three Mexicans ride up and fasten their horses to the rack in front of the store, and excitedly approach the door, heavily armed. I said nothing to Smith of the circumstance, but walked hastily to the sitting room at the back of the store to get my Winchester rifle, thinking things looked shakey. I had no sooner reached my rifle into my hands when Smith came rushing into the room, closely followed by a savage looking Mexican with his gun in the attitude to shoot Smith, but immediately on seeing me, brought it round on me, but before he could shoot, my bullet had penetrated his chest and knocked all the fight out of him. In the meantime, Smith had escaped out of an open door opposite to the one by which he had entered the room, and my wife, passing in as he went out, was with me in the room. Seeing the wounded Mexican could shoot no more, I made ready for the next to follow him. Having seen but three Mexicans, I felt no apprehension as to my being able to cope with that number, and expected when they heard the firing they would come to the assistance of their comrade, but none came. I stepped to the door leading into the store to see where they were, and was taking aim at the fellow nearest me when my attention was attracted by the number outside the front of the store which appeared to me to amount to a hundred Mexicans. Realizing at once that I was greatly overpowered (for one man cannot with much hope fight a hundred), I did not fire, but turned, expecting to see my wife in the room and tell her to take the children and leave the house, but she was nowhere to be found, and the doors and windows looking into the room where I was from the three sides of the house all being open, and the Mexicans taking up position so as to surround us, I was compelled to avail myself of a trap door through the floor, by which I passed into a trench dug beneath the floor of the house that enabled me to pass from one part of the house to another and get into any room I wanted to without being exposed to sight. Here I found Smith, who, crawling under the house at the back, had found the trench. He was very excited and I advised him to stay where he was and keep quiet and I would go to the front of the house

and see if there was any chance to fight them, when, if I saw that he could do any good with it, I would furnish him with a pistol, but as excited as he was he was best without one.

"On reaching the trench from which I could see the crowd in front of the store, I noticed several Americans held as prisoners, among whom was a person named Lane, another, Mike Dunn, and one, Tom Nelson, and I came to the conclusion that, Mexican-like, they meant to take all the prisoners they could from among the Americans, and as soon as they were through robbing, have the enjoyment of a general massacre, a la Peniscal.

"I determined at once I would not be taken alive, so I passed back to a place where I could command the store with my rifle, but to my consternation, I found my wife in the store, surrounded by the raiders and two of them placed in such a way with cocked pistols that any shot that should be fired from an unseen party would be retaliated on her by one of the fiends; consequently, to resume firing was only to insure her being shot, and I had to remain inactive while my wife was trying to persuade them not to carry out their threat of taking me or burning the house. Several times when they had lighted a fire in the store my wife put it out, and the first time by throwing a pitcher of water on it. I now noticed that Smith had left the trench, and hearing shots from the direction in which he must have gone, knew that he was shot down by the guards placed to keep us from leaving the house. I could now hear the roar of the fire over my head, and to remain longer was certain death; and my only chance lay in shooting down the Mexicans who guarded the back of the house, and escape in the smoke. But when I reached the end of the trench from which to put my design into operation, my wife called to me that the Mexicans were not there, and now was my only chance to leave alive, and she helped me to tear a hole through the fence by which to escape. When I left her she was getting her feather bed out of the house, and in spite of the impending danger, I could but feel amused at such a notion as getting out a bed while thousands of other articles, in my estimation, would have had the preference. I expected every moment to be fired upon, and in such a case had made up my mind to lie flat and return the fire, but I was allowed to turn the corner of the fence without molestation, and, by keeping along the angle

of the fence, I reached a point where to go further I had to pass over open ground where I should have been seen, so concluded to remain and see it out. I passed by Smith soon after leaving the house, being on his face and covered with blood, and as I thought, dead. The Mexicans, not seeing me leave, boasted they had burnt me with the house as were their intentions. When reconnoitering from my trench among the crowd in front of my store, I noticed the mail rider among the prisoners; they took him as he came up to deliver his mail, and he was not allowed to do so, but both he and his two horses were carried off by them, together with the mail bags, when they left.

"From the numerous murders and raids that have been made within the last two years, I deemed it necessary to be well prepared for such an emergency whenever my time came, which I always had a presentiment it would do, and I had used all my spare time in making preparations for the event, and had gone to a great expense in planning the trench. I shaped it so that a person being in it was perfectly safe from the shots from the outside, and I reached it from three trap doors, one in the floor at my bed, one at my desk in the store and another from a room beside the store, and it led to a way of escape at the back of the house, which saved my life. A trench also led to the cellar, and another from the cellar to the front of the stairs. At the trap door in the front room I could reach the top of the house by means of a hook and ladder, and in the top of the house I kept a needle gun with five hundred rounds of cartridges, and I had, to the best of my recollection, sixteen improved pistols and about fifty boxes of cartridges distributed about the house, and with sufficient warning of their approach to enable me to close the house, I considered myself, alone, capable of fighting off twelve or fifteen men, and had determined never to surrender to a force smaller.

"My wife tells me that when she left the house, as she ran down the hill towards the river, the two Mexicans who had killed Smith rode after her and were preparing their guns to shoot at her, but she begged them to spare her for the sake of her baby, and they let her go.

"Early in the attack my wife had given the baby to my little daughter and her brother, who, both together, were hardly able to

carry the smallest, telling them to carry him away as quickly as they could, and the three had about reached a point very near to where the Mexicans shot Smith, and at the time they were engaged in doing so, and were witnesses to the deed, and from what they saw became so horrified that they fell to the ground, incapable of moving. In the meantime, the two older boys, who had been on the river and knew nothing of what was going on, suspected something wrong at the house from seeing the Mexicans shoot down Smith, caught sight of the little ones at the same time, and seeing them fall, came to their rescue, and all agree in saying that while crossing the flats, the five were fired at by the Mexicans and one of the shots that was intended for Smith nearly hit Grace, the little girl. The children reached the river and crossed in the skiff, where my wife joined them some time after.

"As soon as darkness set in the Mexicans turned loose all their prisoners except the mail carrier and two or three others, among whom was W. A. Ball, our justice of the peace, who, I afterwards learned, they took with them some distance before they allowed him to escape. As soon as they were gone I ran to Smith, whom I found alive, but with so many bullet holes in him that death seemed at first inevitable. I now met my wife who told me the children were all safe, which made me feel very grateful. Smith was lying about one hundred yards from the burning house and praying for water, so I ran to the place where the house had stood, with the idea of getting water, but of course everything was gone or red hot, and I could not find anything that would hold water, but while I was hunting for something two men, strangers, rode up to the fire on the other side, and one of them requested me to approach the fence on the other side of which he stood, and as soon as I was close to him he demanded my rifle, at the same time bringing his six-shooter down on me and threatened to kill me unless I complied. Not dreaming of such conduct from a white man, I was totally unprepared and he could have shot me before I could have raised my rifle. But I refused him his request, saying that I needed the rifle for my own and my family's protection, as that was all the Mexicans had left. However, as he insisted that he could do more good with it than I could, as he was going in pursuit of the Mexicans, I gave the rifle to him on his promise to return it, but, poor fellow, in less than

an hour he was dead, and only through luck I recovered the rifle, which was picked up near his body by F. Sims, a gentleman living near me, and it was some days before I recovered possession of it. The person who took my rifle was named Swanks, I was told, and was among the first of those in pursuit of the Mexicans, and was reported at the time to have been killed by them. He was a brave man, a fine example of a Texan.

"I had now returned to Smith, who would not let me leave him, although I had no hat nor clothes enough to keep me warm. After a while parties brought a cart and took him away, and then we hunted up the little ones, who were by this time huddled together under a fence near the river, crying and half-witted from fright. My wife had, luckily, pulled the running gear of the light wagon out of reach of the flames, and we now took the hind wheels and mustered up all our possessions, which consisted of a bed, a blanket and a quilt, which she had carried out while the house was burning, with her sewing machine, and with the five little ones we started down the hill to the wharf I had recently built on the river, and in the darkness we took possession of the only home we now owned, but felt thankful for it.

"While the house was burning I had to stand and watch from my retreat by the fence, the huge tongues of flame shoot heavenward, knowing that they were licking up the fruits of ten years' toil, and everything except ourselves that I valued in this world, yet I never experienced so utterly maddening a feeling as came over me when I first realized the fact that my children were crying for the want of a roof to cover them, and a taste of a bite of bread.

[Signed]

T. J. NOAKES."

This brave man died several years afterwards. Since his death his sons have been pushing a claim for fifty thousand dollars against the Mexican government; but it is only one of the many of such claims for damages sustained through Mexican raids, on which, for some unexplainable reason, no action has ever been taken.

The prisoners who escaped from the camp of the bandits near Corpus Christi ran for their lives and were soon a mile or more from the demons. When first captured they had been robbed of all their

valuables, but they were thankful indeed to escape with their lives. All that night and the next day they wandered aimlessly, lost in the woods. Again night was coming on, they were suffering for water and their hunger was extreme. Their only food during this time being what few berries and herbs they could find in the woods. During the first night they had seen a bright blaze in the distance, and had been lead to the conclusion that Corpus Christi had been captured by the raiders and was being burned. So they knew not which way to turn.

The two companies formed at Corpus Christi pursued the Mexicans in the direction of Nuecestown, and when within a few miles of the place they noticed a large fire and at once knew what was happening. They hastened their speed and soon arrived at the village. John McClane, who was then sheriff of Nueces county, commanded one company, and John Swanks, a merchant, the other. Upon nearing Nuecestown the men heard the tramping of horses, and knew the enemy was only a few hundred yards ahead of them. During the night the Mexicans had become aware of their pursuers and decided to retreat towards the Rio Grande. In their haste to reach the border line they abandoned all their prisoners, amounting to some twenty men. Both sides were anxiously awaiting the dawn, one in the anticipation of a battle royal, the other to see more clearly their way of escape. At last it came. Several of the men who had gained their liberty had in their hurry wandered in the direction of the American camp, and they received a hearty welcome. They related that the Mexicans were making preparations to leave for Mexico.

When the number of Mexicans was ascertained, McClane did not think it prudent for his men to undertake to fight them, being so poorly armed. The Mexicans had two or three pistols each and several rounds of cartridges, besides their guns. Swanks, not thinking as did McClane, was determined to fight, and while he was making preparations for the attack, the Mexicans became aware of his purpose and immediately formed in line for battle. Soon after five o'clock, Swanks, at the head of his company, gave a fierce cowboy yell and charged on the murderous fiends. Frightened by this proceeding, the Mexicans retreated ingloriously; but one of them,

turning in his saddle, fired at the brave Swanks, who immediately fell from his horse, lifeless. Seeing their leader fall, the command came to a halt.

Poor Swanks was found with his face buried in the earth, lying in a pool of blood. The day before, when the town of Corpus Christi had been thrown into such excitement, he had been working at his trade, happy and well. Five minutes after the alarm he was seen pacing the streets, yelling at the top of his voice, "Boys, who will follow old Swanks to the Oso?" The response was prompt, and he was soon on the road with a party of brave companions. He died like a man, but deserved a better fate.

As the body of Swanks was being prepared for hasty burial, someone was heard calling from the thicket for water. It was found to be the John Smith who was shot during the burning of the Noakes residence. So badly was his body torn that it took three or four men to raise him from the earth. He was often spoken of as "Lying John," because it is said he was never known to tell a truth, but he told one when he said to his physician that he would not die. What seemed to worry him more than anything else, was the fact that the Mexicans would get beyond the reach of our men and escape; so, after they had ministered to him and made him as comfortable as possible, he insisted on their hurrying on. After riding on for some distance they saw, close to a tree near the road, a white object on the ground. It proved to be a sheet in whose folds was wrapped a half dead Mexican. He was the man whom Mr. Noakes shot. His companions, in their hurry, had abandoned him. In his right hand he held an ugly knife, and like a lion at bay defied the Texans. Some of the men were in favor of hanging him on the spot, but cooler heads controlled, and he was bound and carried along. On a scrap of soiled paper, which he handed them, was this message from his leader, written in human blood: "Texans, we will revenge our comrade and expect to meet us again two years hence. Cortena."

Finally abandoning the trail, which they had followed for several miles, the men from Corpus Christi returned home at midnight. On the way their attention was attracted by cries, which they at first thought to be those of wolves, but soon recognized as human, and following them they found, some distance from the road, in a

frightened and half starved condition, the women who had been taken prisoners two days before. The party reached home just at sunrise, and it would be hard to imagine a more joyful reunion than that held in Corpus Christi that morning.

After being held as a prisoner for four days, the captured Mexican was taken by a mob and hanged. He refused to disclose anything in regard to his companions, only saying that the Mexican who was killed at Franks' store met death because he recognized one of the raiders.

THE NEW ORLEANS NEWSPAPER FILES OF THE TEXAS
REVOLUTIONARY PERIOD.

ALEX. DIENST.

In the year eighteen hundred and thirty-five there were less than one thousand newspapers published in the United States. Of this number about thirty-five were daily publications, and of these thirty-five the city of New Orleans could boast of five. This looks like a large proportion for New Orleans, but we must remember that at that time New Orleans was the third largest city in the United States, having an actual population of seventy thousand, and a transient population estimated at over thirty thousand. From a commercial standpoint it was the second city in the Union.

The standard of journalistic character, capacity and resources of these New Orleans dailies was as high as that of any in the United States. Their editors were regarded as chiefs of their respective parties, and besides their editorial work were frequently called upon to draw up the platforms, resolutions and addresses of their parties. In the very nature of things, therefore, whatever measures they endorsed were adopted by their readers; and so of necessity their personal influence, exerted through their facile pens, meant much to the revolutionary party in Texas. New Orleans was the city through which ninety per cent of the immigration, and more than ninety per cent. of the financial aid in the revolution came to Texas; and it was the city that gave to the Texans their strongest moral support. This support, the most valuable help that could be given, it gave abundantly. The editorials favorable to the Texan cause, of which examples will be given in this article, were such as only a Southron whose heart is fired with patriotism could write.

The value of newspapers as a source of history is underestimated by most people, and by many students. Dr. A. B. Hart, professor of history in Harvard University, in his *Method of Teaching American History*, speaking of his authorities classifies them in this order of importance: first, official publications; second, legal pub-

lications; third, newspapers; fourth, biographies; fifth, works of statesmen; sixth, constitutional histories; seventh, general histories. John Henry Brown, in the preface to his *History of Texas*,¹ concerning the value of the newspaper sources of history, says: "Much of interest, in the very nature of things, resulting from the want of official records, the absence in large part of current newspaper files, and the failing memory of many old and patriotic men, must remain untold."

Admitting then the value of newspapers as a source of Texas history, we come to the question, what newspapers were in existence in Texas during the period from June, 1835, to August, 1836,—the actual fighting time of the Texas revolution, and a period for which in studying we should desire all the details obtainable. In January, 1835, the *Texas Republican* was the only paper published in Texas, and it was discontinued in August, 1835, when hostilities had just commenced. In Bancroft's enumeration of early Texas newspapers, he says:² "The fourth paper is of historic interest, being the *Telegraph*, which was started by Gail and Thomas H. Borden and Joseph Baker at San Felipe in August, 1835. When that town was abandoned by the government in April, 1836, on the approach of the Mexicans, the press was conveyed to Harrisburg, and while the twenty-second number was being printed the forces of Santa Anna entered the town. Six copies only had been struck off when the printers, press and type were seized by the Mexicans. The material was thrown into Bray's Bayou." One of these six copies Mr. Bancroft mentions as still in existence; he does not, however, inform us where.³ The *Telegraph* was not published again until August, 1836. So during this interval, fraught with such stirring events, from April to August, Texas was without a newspaper, and the siege of the Alamo, Fannin's massacre, the battle of

¹See Vol. I, p. 4.

²*North Mexican states and Texas*, Vol. II, pp. 548-549.

³I have in my collection Vol. I, No. 21, the last copy printed in San Felipe. It is a very interesting number, and among much other historical matter gives the details of the Alamo fight and its participants so far as then known, and the last letter written by Travis. The files of the *Telegraph*, though very incomplete, are very valuable.

San Jacinto, General Gaines' attitude on the frontier, the flight of the people before the Mexican army, the cruising of the fleet, the blockading of the port of Matamoros, and many other important events would have been left bare facts if it had not been for detailed accounts furnished to the New Orleans daily journals by Texan correspondents. Every vessel that arrived in the New Orleans harbor from a Texas port was eagerly visited by representatives of the press, and the papers would always give information from Texas the most prominent place in their columns and have it appear headed.

While facts are what the historian is after, and battles and their results, and the doings of political parties and factions are the main things that draw his attention, yet he must not ignore nor leave unrecorded the feelings and sentiments of a people living on the border of a land in the throes of a mighty revolution. It does seem to me that our historians dwell too little on the great moral support given Texas by the people of New Orleans. The New Orleans Greys, who did so much to assist Texas in her struggle for liberty, undoubtedly came on account of patriotic editorials in New Orleans papers. The people of New Orleans and of the United States at large were naturally disposed to side with their kith and kin beyond the Sabine; but the feeling lay dormant, and it took editorials breathing patriotism in every line to awake them into *doing* something helpful. This awakening the editors felt to be their task, and nobly they did their work; just as in the late Spanish-American war the sentiment in favor of helping the Cubans was created by the press, which thus became undeniably the direct cause of the war. So in the days of the revolution Texas could not have succeeded if the journals of New Orleans and of the United States had not befriended her; and especially the press of the city of New Orleans, whence came, as I stated before, ninety per cent. of the sinews of war. What made the editorials strong and convincing was the fact that truth and patriotism of the heart, and not of party, dwelt in every word and sentence. They represented the individual thoughts of the writers; since at that time the political parties had not begun to cast covetous or jealous eyes upon Texas soil. And so their ideas were not the reflections simply of their party's policy, but of their earnest, heartfelt sympathy. At this period the abolitionist had not commenced his campaign against the acquisition of more slave ter-

ritory, and the sympathy and prayers of almost all the people of the United States were with Texas and her gallant defenders.

I say *almost* all the people, because here and there a paper espoused the Mexican cause, or by its silence betokened its enmity to that of the Texans; and it was so in the city of New Orleans. One of its five journals was opposed to Texas and hostile in a marked degree to all efforts to give any aid to the revolutionists; but this paper was helpful by giving the others an opportunity to refute its charges and make the righteousness of the revolution all the more apparent. From the historian's standpoint such journals make material all the more for his use, since if there has been any misrepresentation, assuredly the hostile paper has been keen enough to discover it and make much of it.

The five daily newspapers of New Orleans at the time of the Texas revolution were: the *Commercial Bulletin*, editor, Mr. Putnam Rea; the *Bee*, editor, Judge Alexander C. Bullitt; the *True American*, editor, Major John Gibson; the *Courier*, editor, Peter K. Wagner; and the *Post and Union*, editor, Mr. Carter. There was one more paper published in New Orleans, but from the clippings I have I am unable to state whether it was a daily or a weekly. I think, however, it was also a daily. It was the *Louisiana Advertiser*, edited by Judge Hawkins. These publications were friendly to Texas, with one exception, the *Post and Union*, which, as some of the editorials will show, was a violent enemy. None of them are in existence today—under the names they then had. I think the *New Orleans Picayune* is the oldest paper in New Orleans, and it was founded in 1837. From correspondence with this paper I find they have complete files from that date. As to files of the other papers I was referred to the custodian of the city archives of New Orleans, Mr. M. Pohlmann. He writes: "I examined the files of papers in my office. I have the *Courier* June 13 to November 30, 1836. The *Commercial Bulletin*, first file, I have 1839, and I have *Louisiana Advertiser* January 7 to March 31, 1836."

Whether there are any other files for the period of the revolution in Texas or the city of New Orleans I cannot say. I have made diligent inquiry, but can find none. My files of the *Commercial Bulletin* are complete for matters relating to Texas from about July, 1835, to July, 1837; and of the *Bee* for the period of December,

1835, to December, 1836. Of the *Courier*, the *True American*, the *Post and Union* and the *Louisiana Advertiser* I have only clippings relating to the most important events going on in Texas; but these are all very valuable to the student. From an acknowledgment among my papers I find that William Kennedy had access to a portion of these files in gathering material for his history of Texas. Mr. Kennedy was a "philosophical" more than a "detail" historian, if I may use the expression, and I find he made very little use of the journals. The future historian of Texas, whether his writings are in the form of monographs or of a complete history, must use such material extensively, or the time will come when he will find his work superseded by that of some one who does appreciate them at their true value. For illustration's sake, I trust I shall be pardoned in speaking of my own experience. For two years I have been making a special study of the navy of the Republic of Texas. From contemporaneous newspapers alone, leaving out all documents, can be gathered over a hundred pages of historical matter relating to the *first* navy of the Republic, or the one which belonged to the actual revolutionary period; and the amount of material has so appalled me that I have about decided to confine my effort to this first navy. Yet with all this and other valuable sources available, not a single historian gives the first Texas navy as much as a dozen pages, and some do not give it a dozen lines. The same remarks are applicable to many other special subjects in Texas history.

Following are some complete editorials and extracts from others that appeared in the New Orleans papers in 1835-1836. They are words which inspired men to enlist for Texas, to give to Texas, and to die for Texas.

From the *Louisiana Advertiser* of the 11th of June, 1835:

"We have just received the following documents lately circulated in Texas; by which it appears the colonists are preparing to stand to their arms rather than submit to a military despotism, which Santa Anna was preparing against them. The resolutions are bold and decided; they seem determined to rescue their governor [Mexican governor of Coahuila and Texas] and take the management of their own affairs. We trust everything will be adjusted satisfactorily, without an appeal to arms, particularly as the last resolution shows great moderation and temper. We are personally acquainted

with Dr. Archer, W. Wharton and several of the signers of the resolution, and we know them to be cool and prudent men, anxious to conciliate all parties—men who will never resort to arms if not driven by unavoidable necessity. We shall anxiously look for the next arrivals, as the last meeting was to have been held on the 28th ultimo.”

Then follow the documents, one from the chieftancy of the Department of Brazos dated June 21, 1835, and signed by J. B. Miller; and the other an account of a meeting of the citizens in the town of Columbia June 23, 1835.

Meeting of Texas sympathizers, July 14, 1835.

“In conformity with previous notice, a numerous and respectable assemblage of citizens of various States of the southwestern portion of the Union was held at the Arcade in this city on Friday evening, 14th inst. The meeting was organized by the appointment of General Felix H. Huston, of Natchez, Mississippi, to the chair, Colonel Wm. R. Hill, of Tennessee, and Dr. James F. Maclin, of Vicksburg, Mississippi, secretaries. The chair addressed the meeting in a spirited and elegant harangue, describing in a manner exceedingly touching, the wrongs and sufferings of the people of Texas, and exhibiting the necessity of immediate action on the part of friends of civil and religious freedom in their behalf; after which General H. S. Foote, of Clinton, Mississippi, arose in his place and submitted the following resolutions, and accompanied them with eloquent and appropriate remarks,”—and then follow lengthy resolutions of sympathy, etc.

From the *Commercial Bulletin*, on the departure of the New Orleans Greys for Texas:

“The Orleans Greys, or a considerable portion of the company, which have just returned from the Florida Territory, appear to be resolved upon carrying out the good work of chastising those who would imbrue their hands in the blood of our countrymen. A considerable number have joined General Green, who leaves today with his volunteers for Texas, and where we ardently hope they will find on their arrival the country in the peaceful possession of its rightful occupants, the enemy powerless, and a foundation laid for permanent peace, security and independence. They can then change their warlike weapons for implements of husbandry, and contribute

to the formation of a well ordered government, become as upright influential citizens of Texas, as they have proved themselves devoted lovers of the free institutions of the country they have left. Texas holds out a great field for the adventurous and enterprising population of our States, and soon will its vast prairies be covered with the habitations of the thrifty and industrious, and all its vast resources become gradually developed under the fostering care of a government administered by judicious and enlightened men. Civil and religious liberty will prevail over the restraining edicts of military and priestly tyranny and raise an intelligent people above the besotted ignorance and superstition that the combined efforts of a despotic state and church would fasten on them, and give them a merited rank and elevation among the powers of the earth."

Editorial from the *Commercial Bulletin*, on the news of the fall of the Alamo, March 29, 1836.

"The recent news from Texas is calculated to throw doubt and gloom over at least the speedy disenthralment of the brave Texans from the power of despot and oppression. Yet, though San Antonio has fallen and its gallant defenders, worthy of a better fate, have felt the full force of savage vengeance, and given their mangled bodies for sacrifices to an overpowering foe, still Texas is not enslaved, and the very spirit which burned in the breasts of San Antonio's defenders is kindled in the hearts of every tenant of the wood cabin and throughout the wide extent of Texas. A few such victories even will prove but discomfiture and death to the enemy himself. The disastrous fate of San Antonio will in all probability strengthen the cause of Texas, in producing a greater degree of unanimity among the Texans themselves—causing them to drop minor differences, and to concentrate all feelings, hearts and minds into one common and undivided purpose, the establishment of this independence upon a basis too firm to be overthrown by all the united forces of faction, intrigue or despotic power.

"The oppressor will find more than one San Antonio to besiege—and the same bold and determined men who there proved to him what the sinews of but few arms can effect when exerted in the defense of civil liberty—will meet him at every step of his progress, contesting it inch by inch—making each success of his numerous

horde but a speedier and more certain prelude to his final destruction.

"It is impossible for us not to have our sympathies aroused in behalf of this gallant people, and earnestly to desire that they may issue from their present struggle for the dearest and most invaluable of all rights in a manner the most successful and triumphant.

"Their cause is a good one—it is based upon the immutable foundation of natural right and justice—they are not invaders, but defenders of their constitutional rights, their homes, their altars. Who then, anxious for the establishment of free and liberal principles in Texas—in which will be sown those seeds that will eventually lead to the revolution of the whole of besotted and benighted Mexico, that will not contribute his sympathies not only, but his might and his influence for the successful attainment of such praiseworthy ends. There are men who have fallen in defense of Texas' liberty of whom history will preserve proud and enduring memorials. The names of Travis, Crockett, Bowie, Milam and others will fall to posterity as those who nobly fought and died, martyrs to their devoted attachment to the cause of humanity and right, and their stern, unyielding hatred to oppression and tyranny.

"For ourselves, we feel convinced that the recent disastrous attack on San Antonio, and the inhuman butchery of those who survived the assault, will in the end prove of signal service to the cause of Texas, in effecting a more determined and successful opposition than ever to the progress of the usurping Santa Anna. We entertain no fears as to the result."

Extract from an editorial in the *Commercial Bulletin* for March 31, 1836:

* * * "In the meantime, although we invoke no infraction of the treaties established and recognized between Mexico and our country, and would not render ourselves amenable to the laws by raising troops or doing what might be regarded as violating solemn compacts—still we do say, that regarding the contest in which the Texans are engaged as a struggle for the most invaluable rights of God to man, a struggle against inhuman oppression and tyranny, they are entitled to our warmest sympathies, our best wishes, nay more, to our private contributions for their deserving need."

From the same paper, April 4, 1836:

* * * "In the sacred cause of right, justice and humanity, it is no time to calculate cold policy and expediency—let us then do something for Texas. The chivalry and generosity of Louisiana cannot slumber under the appeal made to them from those who are breasting an unnatural enemy in defense of fathers, mothers, wives, children and all the nearest and dearest rights of freemen.

"Let us at least express our feelings, give of our abundance—and foremost as our citizens have been in flying to the succor of our countrymen in Florida, we are confident that the same motives will enkindle a similar spirit, and produce, as we trust in God, a similar result on the plains of Texas."

Extract from an editorial in the *Bee*, April 4, 1836:

"We feel constrained by the situation of affairs in Texas, and the fact that the people of the United States—and especially in Louisiana—have become deeply interested in the struggle of which that country is now the field, to take into consideration the propriety of acting upon the public mind, of calling the public attention to, or of soliciting through the medium of public meetings and the public papers, the interference in behalf of the people of Texas, of the people of New Orleans, or of the United States. Comparison of situation and claims have been drawn by the Texans between their situation and that of Greece, and between the present condition of Texas and that of the Union during the war of the revolution; and in the precedent found in the appeal of Greece, and which was the subject of the consideration of the Congress of the United States and which obtained much support for their cause from the people in this country; and in the call upon France, which obtained the approbation and support of the government and people of that country, during the struggles of these States for their independence, they claim for Texas a right to our encouragement and support. * * * That they might ask aid from any power, American or European, or seek support by an appeal to the people of any other nation, and without referring a consideration of their cause to government—with no less justice or propriety than ourselves heretofore, would seem to be evident; and that we are bound to hear and answer their appeal not only by the reasoning that applies to the people of other civilized

nations, and with additional force to us, inasmuch as they form part of our own family, they are the offspring of our own hive, although hitherto subjects of a foreign state, but also for that we have already engaged in their behalf our own sympathy and our support to an extent that justifies them in expecting us to continue that support, and we have occasioned the embarkation of life and property in the cause of which our neglect at this time might occasion the sacrifice. The people of Texas deserve much from the consideration that they have not sought the interference of the government of this country on their behalf; their appeal is made only to the people. Their language is: 'We know and we have endeavored to exhibit to you the justice of our cause. We are in want and suffering from a cruel and implacable enemy. Assuredly you are free to give or to lend. Will you not assist us?'

"We confess we know not of the existence of any law to the contrary, and can say for ourselves that we are ready to contribute our share in support of their cause, which we hope will be soon and effectually triumphant. * * * Let the sentiment be, and may it be heard wherever our language may be understood or interpreted, Texas and Liberty!"

Editorial from the *Post and Union*, April 16, 1836, and extracts from replies:

"Another Texas meeting was holden last evening at the Arcade, but we rejoice to say that not a citizen of Louisiana officiated on this occasion. The officers and speakers were all strangers; the only person we recognized was General Felix Huston, of Natchez, who acted as president. We listened with attention for the purpose of learning the condition of affairs in Texas, but no positive or accurate information was communicated to the meeting. There was an abundance of declamation about 'honor,' 'glory,' 'revenge,' 'liberty,' 'death'—and even 'immortality' was promised to those who ventured to aid the Texans. Whether this promise was held out, because the 'blood of the volunteers' has only been spilt, we know not—in conclusion we would inquire why so many 'members of conventions,' 'secretaries,' 'ambassadors' and 'commissioners' are absent from Texas at this critical juncture. We expect that few believe in the immortality attending upon fighting.

"Mr. Bryan, the agent of the Texas Provisional Government in this city, has commenced suit and taken out a writ of sequestration against all the funds and property in this district belonging to the Provisional Government. It is very hard, in these degenerate times, to make 'Patriotism' and 'Pocket' meet on friendly terms."

Reply from a friend to Texas:

"Will Mr. Carter [editor of the *Post and Union*] please inform us how much a certain Mexican pays him for his remarks? The meeting on Friday was a western meeting, and we recognized some very respected persons among them, viz.: General Felix Huston, of Mississippi, General Foote, of Tennessee, and General Green. The patriotic citizens of the United States are well acquainted with the condition of affairs in Texas, if Mr. Carter is not. This Mr. Carter pretends to be an Irishman, but he would sell his birthright; he has not the soul of an Irishman. Messrs. McMullen and McGloin, founders of the Irish colonies in Texas, are now in the city; all the Irish families in the grants are flying before the Mexicans, and now on the Texas side of the Sabine and perishing for food."

Reply from the general agent for Texas:

"To the editor of the *Post and Union*."

"SIR: My attention has been called to a paragraph in your paper of Saturday evening, in which it is asserted that 'I have taken out a writ of sequestration against all the funds and property in this district belonging to the Provisional Government of Texas.' Such is not the fact; you will therefore oblige me by inserting this communication. The new government, immediately after their inauguration into office, and before they had inspected the public documents and contracts of this agency, and without an understanding with the old government, drew for \$10,000, now in the Bank of Orleans, in favor of a highly respectable house in this city. The sum had been previously appropriated to, and had been anticipated by this agency, as it had evidently originated in a mistake from want of information of the responsibilities here. It was my duty to keep these funds in bank until the executive could be apprised of the circumstances, and give them their legitimate destination. The agency is fully sustained in its conduct by all the friends of Texas in New Orleans, which could not be the case were

your remarks correct. I am fully assured of the honor and good faith of the present government, and the public may rely upon my determination to maintain, as far as possible, the credit and faith of the government, and warrant the confidence that the public have placed in my pledge of the government credit.

"Yours respectfully,

"WM. BRYAN,

April 18, 1836.

"General Agent for Texas."

From the *Commercial Bulletin*, June 14, 1836:

"The Texas armed schooner, Independence, commanded by Charles E. Hawkins, seven days from Velasco, Texas, anchored yesterday below the Point and fired a salute of thirteen guns. P. W. Grayson and James Collingsworth, Esqs., came in her as passengers. These gentlemen are clothed with full powers to negotiate with our government for a recognition of the independence of Texas, and will leave tomorrow for Washington city with that view. If Congress has not ere this recognized the independence of Texas, we entertain but little doubt as to its consummation upon the arrival at Washington of the commissioners.

"Would that upon the joyful commemoration of our Fourth of July we could at the same time rejoice in the effectual recognition of the independence of our sister republic of Texas."

BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

The July number of the *Publications* of the Southern History Association publishes *The Journal of Thomas Nicholson*, a Quaker minister born in North Carolina about 1685; a *Letter from a Revolutionary Officer* (Captain Philip Slaughter); *A Brief Outline of Governor Richard Bennett*, by I. T. Tichenor; and an essay on *The Southern Planter of the Fifties*, by Miss Louisa P. Looney. Besides these there are a number of book reviews and other notices.

In view of public questions now before the American people the American Historical Review for July is a particularly interesting number. The leading articles are: *The Critical Period of English Constitutional History*, by George B. Adams; *Chatham's Colonial Policy*, by Hubert Hall; *Territory and District*, by Max Farrand; *The Judiciary Act of 1801*, by Max Farrand; *President Buchanan's Proposed Intervention in Mexico*, by Howard L. Wilson. The documents consist of the Letters of Ebenezer Huntington, covering the Revolutionary years of 1774-1781.

The Laws of Texas. Volume VIII, 1822-1897. Compiled and arranged by H. P. N. Gammel, with an introduction by C. W. Raines.

This volume covers the period extending from 1873 to 1879, and contains

All the General and Special Laws of the 14th Legislature,

The Ordinances of the Constitutional Convention of 1875,

The Constitution of 1875,

The General and Special Laws of the 15th Legislature, and

The General Laws of the Regular Session of the 16th Legislature.

It would take more space than is at our command to notice even briefly all the important changes made in the Law of Texas during these years.

The Constitution of 1869 had no special provisions regarding Public or Private Corporations, and charters were granted both by

General Law and Private Acts. In 1871 the Legislature had passed a general law for creating private corporations, and it was published, and in force, and many charters were taken out under it. Subsequently it was ascertained that there was no enacting clause to the bill. One of the most important acts of the 14th Legislature was a curative act practically reenacting the bill of 1871, and further providing that all charters taken out under that act should be valid. The first session of this 14th Legislature also passed forty-seven acts for the creation or relief of private corporations.

The most important of these was the bill for relief of the I. & G. N. R. R. Co., by which that company was granted twenty sections of land per mile of road, and immunity from taxation for twenty-five years, in lieu of State bonds to the amount of \$10,000 per mile which it claimed under previous legislation.

There were eighty-six private bills at one session, prohibiting the sale of intoxicants in the immediate vicinity of designated schools and institutions of learning.

A general incorporation law for "Cities and towns of 1000 inhabitants or over" was passed.

On March 13, 1875, the Legislature passed a joint resolution to take a vote of the people as to calling a constitutional convention. The convention was called and convened at Austin September 6th and adjourned November 24th, 1875. The constitution prepared by it was ratified by the people February 15th, 1876, and became operative April 18th, 1876, and has since been the organic law of the State, though several amendments have been made. A few of the many changes thus accomplished are:

The giving of authority to the Legislature to regulate the qualifications of jurors.

The insertion in the Constitution of an entire article on Municipal Corporations; one on Private Corporations; one on Railroads.

Very extensive provisions as to taxation.

The creation of a new judicial system, including two courts of last resort; three classes of trial courts, District, County, and Justice's, with jurisdiction distributed among them in a manner never before provided in Texas.

The introduction of "local option" and usury laws.

This Constitution also gives much more detailed attention to public school and University matters.

On the day the Constitution went into effect, the 15th Legislature convened, and it set vigorously to work to adapt the body of the statutory law to the new organic law. It passed 167 bills and 15 joint resolutions.

Among the most important are those organizing the new judiciary;

A general incorporation law for railroad companies;

An act prohibiting usury and providing penalties for its violation;

The creation of the Department of Insurance, Statistics and History;

A statute of Local Option.

This Legislature adjourned August 21, 1876.

The next Legislature, the 16th, met January 14th, 1879, and adjourned April 24th, 1879. The most important legislation of this session was:

The General Assignment Law;

The law governing Chattel Mortgages;

The law giving to the Commissioner of Insurance large control over insurance companies;

The establishment of the State Normal Schools;

Authorizing cities and towns to elect boards of trustees for their public schools;

Charging rent for enclosed public school lands, and the famous Bell Punch Law.

The Special Laws of 1879 do not appear in this volume as the foregoing matters fill over 1500 pages, but will be given in full in Vol. 9.

A volume which contains all these matters and numerous others, which we cannot now mention, must be of great value not only to the lawyer and the student of history and the growth of government, but also to every person who desires to be familiar with his own country and its laws and institutions.

JOHN C. TOWNES.

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THE REMINISCENCES OF MRS. DILUE HARRIS. II.¹

October, 1835.

Stephen F. Austin arrived in Texas in September. He had been a prisoner in Mexico since December, 1833. He did all in his

¹Mrs. Adèle B. Looscan has kindly contributed some notes to this part of the narrative which are printed over her name. Concerning Part I of the Reminiscences Mrs. Harris says, in a letter to Mrs. Looscan: * * * "In my reminiscences of the Roark family I copied from my father's journal. Brown's account of the affair is not correct. Those men, Spears, Cox, and Collins Beason were killed by Indians near the time Elijah Roark was murdered. McCormick was probably in San Antonio when Leo Roark arrived there. At the time it was impossible to get correct news. It would be months before events happening near San Antonio would be heard of at Brazoria.

"Those four men Mr. Brown gives an account of, Spears, Cox, Beason, and McCormick, were from the Colorado. Beason's father settled where the town of Columbus now stands. The place was called Beason's Ferry. Santa Anna crossed the Colorado at Beason's Ferry. When I moved to Columbus in the year 1845 the Beasons were living there, two brothers, Abe and Leander Beason, two sisters, Miss Mary Beason and Mrs. Bluford Dewees. Mr. Dewees wrote a book on early days in Texas. * * * All these people have passed away leaving but few descendants. * * * In the QUARTERLY [for October, p. 123] the printer makes me say father advised the English people to go to California. It should have been Columbia. * * * My husband's name was Ira A. Harris, not Ira S."

power to prevent the people from holding the convention, for he said Texas was in no condition to fight Mexico. He could have quieted the people, but General Ugartechea in command at San Antonio decided to send Captain Tenorio back to Anahuac by water with two hundred men and some cannon.¹ A man came from San Antonio and said the order was to be sent to Wiley Martin soon to arrest Mosely Baker, W. B. Travis, R. M. Williamson, and others, and he said General Cos would be in Texas by and by with a large army.

The convention² met at San Felipe in September. The first act was a call for volunteers to capture San Antonio before it could be reinforced by General Cos.

Our school closed in September. The teacher said there was so much excitement that it affected the small children, and the young men could not be got back in school at all after the election in September. There was a constant talk of war. Messengers from San Felipe going to Brazoria and Harrisburg stopped at our house from time to time and told the news. All the men in our neighborhood went to San Felipe. Stephen F. Austin was elected to command the army, and it was to rendezvous on the Guadalupe River at Gonzales.

This month we heard again from the priest, Padre Alpuche. He was in San Antonio, and had been in fact a spy sent from Mexico through New Orleans and Nacogdoches to San Felipe.

November, 1835.

Mrs. Stafford came home in a schooner from New Orleans. She had spent two weeks in that city waiting for the schooner. She said there was a good deal of excitement there about Texas, but they never got any news direct from Mexico. The captains of ships told them that Mexico had no idea of sending a large army to Texas. We heard so many different reports that we did not know what to believe. Mrs. Stafford was to stay until spring and take some of

¹There is some confusion here as to Austin's attitude. In his speech of September 12, at Brazoria, he urged the holding of the Consultation strongly.—EDITOR QUARTERLY.

²That is, the Consultation; but it did not meet till October 15, and the next day it adjourned to November 1.—EDITOR QUARTERLY.

the negroes back to the United States. She would have gone at once, but she had to wait until the cotton was gathered and sold.

There was no mistake about General Cos and his army. He got to San Antonio before the Texans organized. It was said that he was going to march through Texas during the winter, liberate the slaves, and force all discontented persons to leave the country. Every man and boy that had a gun and horse went to the army, and the women and children were left to finish picking the cotton. There were but three men left in our neighborhood—father, Adam Stafford, and Moses Shipman. Father was keeping two boys, one named Alexander Armstrong, and the other William Morris. They were orphans and half brothers. One of them was fifteen years old, and the other eleven. Brother Granville was thirteen. These boys were picking cotton and talking war all the time. Father said if they had guns and horses they would go to the army.

Mr. Dyer came home from San Felipe and said there was so much dissension among the delegates he would not wait for the convention to adjourn. As he and his wife were going to the United States on business, he thought it best to come away. They went on to the United States, taking passage from Harrisburg on the same schooner that Mrs. Stafford came home on. Adam Stafford and Mr. Dyer shipped cotton at the same time.

Since the garrison at Anahuac had been forced to surrender, the schooners were coming to Harrisburg frequently. The captains said there was a Mexican war vessel near Galveston Island. Farmers in our neighborhood would not ship any more cotton from Harrisburg then. A steamboat had been sent from New Orleans, which was to run from Brazoria on the Brazos river to San Felipe and Washington, and the cotton at Stafford's gin was to be hauled and piled near Mr. William Little's at the Henry Jones ferry. The steamboat was the Yellowstone. She had been in the St. Louis trade when father's family lived in that city in the years '29 to '32. She was now to remain in the Texas trade, and was to carry the cotton to the mouth of the Brazos, where it was to be shipped on schooners to New Orleans. Father had promised us children to take us to see the steamboat when she was at the landing, and Mr. Jones said he would give a grand ball Christmas, when the captain of the boat had told him he expected to be at the ferry. Mr. Jones

lived on the west bank of the Brazos, and Mr. Little on the east bank.

We heard that the Texans had General Cos and the Mexican army surrounded in San Antonio, and that there had been fighting, but that none of our neighbors were engaged in it except Leo Roark. His mother and sisters were very uneasy on his account.

December, 1835.

Everything was at a standstill and times very gloomy. The Brazos river was so low the steamboat couldn't go up. She was to go to Groce's ferry to a little town called Washington. There were two towns in Austin's colony named Washington, one above San Felipe, the other on Galveston bay.¹

There was a new girl baby at our house born the fifth of the month. Sister and I were very happy over the babe. Brother Granville and the two orphan boys teased us and said we couldn't go to see the steamboat or attend the ball, but we were so pleased with our little sister that we did not care. Father said he was very proud of his four daughters, and that he would be as popular as Mr. Choate when they were grown. Mr. Choate had seven daughters, three of them married. Father said his only trouble was to get a wagon to haul his daughters around.

We heard that the Texans had captured San Antonio, and that General Cos was a prisoner. The fighting commenced on the fifth of the month, but the Mexicans did not surrender until the tenth. None of the men from our neighborhood were killed or wounded, but several we knew were wounded. Messrs. Bell and Neal came home and said that General Cos and the Mexicans under his command had been sent across the Rio Grande.

Father went to Columbia and Brazoria with a cart load of peltry, consisting of the skins of otters, deer, bears, panthers, wild cats, wolves, and 'coons. He was in need of medicines, powder, and lead,

¹Washington on Galveston Bay was laid out by Col. James Morgan, and was called by him New Washington. It was located on the Johnson Hunter league, and as it was the residence of Col. Morgan it became known as Morgan's Point, which name it bears. At this place, only a few days before the battle of San Jacinto, Santa Anna and his staff came near capturing President David G. Burnet as the latter was boarding the schooner Flash, Captain Luke Falvel, for Galveston.—ADELE B. LOOSCAN.

and could not wait any longer for the steamboat, which went up the river later.

January, 1836.

Father returned home on New Year's day, after having been gone two weeks. He sold the hides and laid in a good supply of drugs and medicines. He would have gone to Harrisburg, but there was no drug store in that place. He said it would have been better to haul his cotton to Harrisburg than wait for the steamboat, and that it was doubtful whether he could get it to market before May or June. He got an advance of one hundred dollars on his cotton. While he was gone he met some of the English people that had lived in our neighborhood. Mr. Page had moved to Galveston bay, and the Adkinses were living on the Brazos near Columbia. Miss Jane Adkins, the pretty English girl, was married, and so was her mother, the widow Adkins.

All the men and boys that went to the army from our part of the country had come home and were at work. They seemed to think there would be no more trouble with Mexico. There had been a garrison of Texas soldiers left at San Antonio under Colonel Travis. There were men enough in Texas to have organized a large army if they could all have been concentrated at one point.

The people became very much discouraged on learning that Mexico had sent a revenue cutter to Galveston. It didn't try to land, but anchored outside. There were several schooners at Harrisburg loaded with cotton and hides, that couldn't get out. The captains said that the first big storm that came would blow the war ship away, and that then they would run out.

February, 1836.

Every farmer was planting corn. Mr. Dyer and his wife came from New Orleans on board a schooner which entered the mouth of the Brazos, but they didn't see the revenue cutter. They came on the boat to Columbia, and from there on horseback. They had heard such bad news that they did not finish their visit. It was that Generals Santa Anna and Cos with a large army were *en route* for Texas. This news was brought direct from Tampico, Mexico, to New Orleans by an American who came on a French ship. The

Dyers said men and munitions were coming to Texas. We had heard this news before, but didn't know whether it was true.

Mrs. Stafford went away, taking one negro woman and two negro children, besides her own child, and Mr. Harvey Stafford went with them. They traveled on horseback, and their friends were very uneasy on their account, as there were Indians on the Trinity river, and also in East Texas.

The news that Santa Anna was marching on San Antonio was confirmed. The people at Goliad and San Patricio were leaving their homes, and everybody was preparing to go to the United States. There was more or less dissension among the members of the Council of the Provisional Government. They deposed Governor Smith and installed Lieutenant Governor Robinson. The Mexican army arrived at San Antonio, and the Council went to Washington on the Brazos. People were crossing the river at Fort Bend and Jones' ferry going east with their cattle and horses. Everybody was talking of running from the Mexicans.

March, 1836.—*The Fall of the Alamo.*

The people had been in a state of excitement during the winter. They knew that Colonel Travis had but few men to defend San Antonio. He was headstrong and precipitated the war with Mexico, but died at his post. I remember when his letter came calling for assistance. He was surrounded by a large army with General Santa Anna in command, and had been ordered to surrender, but fought till the last man died. A black flag had been hoisted by the Mexicans. This letter came in February. I have never seen it in print, but I heard mother read it. When she finished, the courier who brought it went on to Brazoria. I was near eleven years old, and I remember well the hurry and confusion. Uncle James Wells came home for mother to help him get ready to go to the army. We worked all day, and mother sat up that night sewing. She made two striped hickory shirts and bags to carry provisions. I spent the day melting lead in a pot, dipping it up with a spoon, and moulding bullets. The young man camped at our house that night and left the next morning. Our nearest neighbors, Messrs. Dyer, Bell, and Neal, had families, but went to join General Houston. Father and Mr. Shipman were old, and Adam Stafford a cripple, and they stayed at home.

By the 20th of February the people of San Patricio and other western settlements were fleeing for their lives. Every family in our neighborhood was preparing to go to the United States. Wagons and other vehicles were scarce. Mr. Stafford, with the help of small boys and negroes, began gathering cattle. All the large boys had gone to the army.

By the last of February there was more hopeful news. Colonel Fannin with five hundred men was marching to San Antonio, and General Houston to Gonzales with ten thousand.¹

Father finished planting corn. He had hauled away a part of our household furniture and other things and hid them in the bottom. Mother had packed what bedding, clothes, and provisions she thought we should need, ready to leave at a moment's warning. Father had made arrangements with a Mr. Bundick to haul our family in his cart; but we were confident that the army under General Houston would whip the Mexicans before they reached the Colorado river.

Just as the people began to quiet down and go to work, a large herd of buffaloes came by. There were three or four thousand of them. They crossed the Brazos river above Fort Bend, and came out of the bottom at Stafford's Point, making their first appearance before day. They passed in sight of our house, but we could see only a dark cloud of dust, which looked like a sand storm. Father tried to get a shot at one, but his horse was so fractious that it was impossible. As the night was very dark we could not tell when the last buffalo passed. We were terribly frightened, for it was supposed that the Indians were following the herd. The buffaloes passed and went on to the coast, and the prairie looked afterwards as if it had been plowed.²

We had been several days without any news from the army, and did not know but that our men had been massacred. News was carried at that time by a man or boy going from one neighborhood to another. We had heard that the Convention had passed a decla-

¹These reports were, of course, untrue.—EDITOR QUARTERLY.

²This was the last time that buffaloes in large numbers were seen in this part of Texas; but for some years a few ranged on Mustang and Chocolate Bayous, and a Mr. Hill, of Grimes county, had several running with his cattle as late as the early 40's.—ADELE B. LOOSCAN.

ration of independence, and elected David G. Burnet president, and Sam Houston commander-in-chief of the army. On the 12th of March came the news of the fall of the Alamo. A courier brought a dispatch from General Houston for the people to leave. Colonel Travis and the men under his command had been slaughtered, the Texas army was retreating, and President Burnet's cabinet had gone to Harrisburg.

Then began the horrors of the "Runaway Scrape." We left home at sunset, hauling clothes, bedding, and provisions on the sleigh with one yoke of oxen. Mother and I were walking, she with an infant in her arms. Brother drove the oxen, and my two little sisters rode in the sleigh. We were going ten miles to where we could be transferred to Mr. Bundick's cart. Father was helping with the cattle, but he joined us after dark and brought a horse and saddle for brother. He sent him to help Mr. Stafford with the cattle. He was to go a different road with them and ford the San Jacinto. Mother and I then rode father's horse.

We met Mrs. M—. She was driving her oxen home. We had sent her word in the morning. She begged mother to go back and help her, but father said not. He told the lady to drive the oxen home, put them in the cow pen, turn out the cows and calves, and get her children ready, and he would send assistance.

We went on to Mrs. Roark's, and met five families ready to leave. Two of Mr. Shipman's sons arrived that night. They were mere boys, and had come to help their parents. They didn't go on home; father knew that Mr. Shipman's family had gone that morning, so he sent them back for Mrs. M—'s.

It was ten o'clock at night when we got to Mrs. Roark's. We shifted our things into the cart of Mr. Bundick, who was waiting for us, and tried to rest till morning. Sister and I had been weeping all day about Colonel Travis. When we started from home we got the little books he had given us and would have taken them with us, but mother said it was best to leave them.

Early next morning we were on the move, mother with her four children in the cart, and Mr. Bundick and his wife and negro woman on horseback. He had been in bad health for some time and had just got home from visiting his mother, who lived in Louisiana. He brought with him two slaves, the woman already mentioned and

a man who was driving the cart; and, as Mr. Bundick had no children, we were as comfortable as could have been expected.

We had to leave the sleigh. Sister and I had grieved all the day before about Colonel Travis, and had a big cry when our brother left us. We were afraid Mrs. M— would be left at home. We had a fresh outburst of grief when the sleigh was abandoned, but had the satisfaction of seeing Mrs M— and her children.

Mr. Cotie would not go to the army. He hauled five families in the big blue wagon with his six yoke of oxen, besides negroes, provisions, bedding, and all the plunder the others could not carry.

We camped the first night near Harrisburg, about where the rail-

March, 1836.—*The Runaway Scrape.*

road depot now stands. Next day we crossed Vince's Bridge and arrived at the San Jacinto in the night. There were fully five thousand people at the ferry. The planters from Brazoria and Columbia with their slaves were crossing. We waited three days before we crossed. Our party consisted of five white families: father's, Mr. Dyer's, Mr. Bell's, Mr. Neal's, and Mr. Bundick's. Father and Mr. Bundick were the only white men in the party, the others being in the army. There were twenty or thirty negroes from Stafford's plantation. They had a large wagon with five yoke of oxen, and horses, and mules, and they were in charge of an old negro man called Uncle Ned. Altogether, black and white, there were about fifty of us. Every one was trying to cross first, and it was almost a riot.

We got over the third day, and after travelling a few miles came to a big prairie. It was about twelve miles further to the next timber and water, and some of our party wanted to camp; but others said that the Trinity river was rising, and if we delayed we might not get across. So we hurried on.

When we got about half across the prairie Uncle Ned's wagon bogged. The negro men driving the carts tried to go around the big wagon one at a time until the four carts were fast in the mud. Mother was the only white woman that rode in a cart; the others travelled on horseback. Mrs. Bell's four children, Mrs. Dyer's three, and mother's four rode in the carts. All that were on horseback had gone on to the timber to let their horses feed and get

water. They supposed their families would get there by dark. The negro men put all the oxen to the wagon, but could not move it; so they had to stay there until morning without wood or water. Mother gathered the white children in our cart. They behaved very well and went to sleep, except one little boy, Eli Dyer, who kicked and cried for Uncle Ned and Aunt Dilue till Uncle Ned came and carried him to the wagon. He slept that night in Uncle Ned's arms.

Mother with all the negro women and children walked six miles to the timber and found our friends in trouble. Father and Mr. Bundick had gone to the river and helped with the ferry boat, but late in the evening the boat grounded on the east bank of the Trinity and didn't get back until morning. While they were gone the horses had strayed off and they had to find them before they could go to the wagons. Those that travelled on horseback were supplied with provisions by other campers. We that stayed in the prairie had to eat cold corn bread and cold boiled beef. The wagons and carts didn't get to the timber till night. They had to be unloaded and pulled out.¹

March, 1836.—*Crossing the Trinity River.*

At the Trinity river men from the army began to join their families. I know they have been blamed for this, but what else could they have done? The Texas army was retreating and the Mexicans were crossing the Colorado, Col. Fannin and his men were prisoners, there were more negroes than whites among us and many of those were wild Africans, there was a large tribe of Indians on the Trinity as well as the Cherokee Indians in Eastern Texas at Nacogdoches, and there were Tories, both Mexicans and Americans, in the country. It was the intention of our men to see their families across the Sabine river, and then to return and fight the Mexicans. I must say for the negroes that there was no insubordination among them; they were loyal to their owners.

¹A note written by Mrs. Harris in the year 1898 is as follows: "I know of no one living at this time who was in that party except my brother, Granville Rose, and myself. He is seventy-five years old, and I am seventy-three. He was not with us when we crossed the Trinity, but was helping Mr. Stafford with his cattle."

Our hardships began at the Trinity. The river was rising and there was a struggle to see who should cross first. Measles, sore eyes, whooping cough, and every other disease that man, woman, or child is heir to, broke out among us. Our party now consisted of the five white families I first mentioned, and Mr. Adam Stafford's negroes. We had separated from Mrs. M— and other friends at Vince's bridge. The horrors of crossing the Trinity are beyond my power to describe. One of my little sisters was very sick, and the ferryman said that those families that had sick children should cross first. When our party got to the boat the water broke over the banks above where we were and ran around us. We were several hours surrounded by water. Our family was the last to get to the boat. We left more than five hundred people on the

March, 1836.—*Crossing the Trinity.*

Retreating Before the Mexican Army Under General Santa Anna.

west bank. Drift wood covered the water as far as we could see. The sick child was in convulsions. It required eight men to manage the boat.

When we landed the lowlands were under water, and everybody was rushing for the prairie. Father had a good horse, and Mrs. Dyer let mother have her horse and saddle. Father carried the sick child, and sister and I rode behind mother. She carried father's gun and the little babe. All we carried with us was what clothes we were wearing at the time. The night was very dark. We crossed a bridge that was under water. As soon as we crossed, a man with a cart and oxen drove on the bridge, and it broke down, drowning the oxen. That prevented the people from crossing, as the bridge was over a slough that looked like a river.

Father and mother hurried on, and we got to the prairie and found a great many families camped there. A Mrs. Foster invited mother to her camp, and furnished us with supper, a bed, and dry clothes.

The other families stayed all night in the bottom without fire or anything to eat, and the water up in the carts. The men drove the horses and oxen to the prairies, and the women, sick children, and negroes were left in the bottom. The old negro man, Uncle Ned, was left in charge. He put the white women and children in

his wagon. It was large and had a canvas cover. The negro women and their children he put in the carts. Then he guarded the whole party until morning.

It was impossible for the men to return to their families. They spent the night making a raft by torch light. As the camps were near a grove of pine timber, there was no trouble about lights. It was a night of terror. Father and the men worked some distance from the camp cutting down timber to make the raft. It had to be put together in the water. We were in great anxiety about the people that were left in the bottom; we didn't know but they would be drowned, or killed by panthers, alligators, or bears.

As soon as it was daylight the men went to the relief of their families and found them cold, wet, and hungry. Many of the families that were water bound I didn't know; but there were among them Mrs. Bell's three children, and Mrs. Dyer and her sister, Mrs. Neal, with five children. Mr. Bundick's wife had given out the first day that we arrived at the river. Her health was delicate, and as she and her husband had friends living near Liberty they went to their house. When the men on the raft got to those who had stayed all night in the Trinity bottom they found that the negroes were scared, and wanted to get on the raft; but Uncle Ned told them that his young mistress and the children should go first. It was very dangerous crossing the slough. The men would bring one woman and her children on the raft out of deep water, and men on horseback would meet them. It took all day to get the party out to the prairies. The men had to carry cooked provisions to them.

The second day they brought out the bedding and clothes. Everything was soaked with water. They had to take the wagon and carts apart. The Stafford wagon was the last one brought out. Uncle Ned stayed in the wagon until everything was landed on the prairie. It took four days to get everything out of the water.

The man whose oxen were drowned sold his cart to father for ten dollars. He said that he had seen enough of Mexico and would go back to old Ireland.

It had been five days since we crossed the Trinity, and we had heard no news from the army. The town of Liberty was three miles from where we camped. The people there had not left their homes, and they gave us all the help in their power. My little sister that had been sick died and was buried in the cemetery at

Liberty. After resting a few days our party continued their journey, but we remained in the town. Mother was not able to travel; she had nursed an infant and the sick child until she was compelled to rest.

A few days after our friends had gone a man crossed the Trinity in a skiff bringing bad news. The Mexican army had crossed the Brazos and was between the Texas army and Harrisburg. Fannin and his men were massacred. President Burnet and his cabinet had left Harrisburg and gone to Washington on the bay and were going to Galveston Island. The people at Liberty had left. There were many families west of the Trinity, among them our nearest neighbors, Mrs. Roark and Mrs. M—.

April, 1836.—*The Battle of San Jacinto.*

We had been at Liberty three weeks. A Mr. Martin let father use his house. There were two families camped near, those of Mr. Bright and his son-in-law, Patrick Reels, from the Colorado river. One Thursday evening all of a sudden we heard a sound like distant thunder. When it was repeated father said it was cannon, and that the Texans and Mexicans were fighting. He had been through the war of 1812, and knew it was a battle. The cannonading lasted only a few minutes, and father said that the Texans must have been defeated, or the cannon would not have ceased firing so quickly. We left Liberty in half an hour. The reports of the cannon were so distant that father was under the impression that the fighting was near the Trinity. The river was ten miles wide at Liberty.

We travelled nearly all night, sister and I on horseback and mother in the cart. Father had two yoke of oxen now. One yoke belonged to Adam Stafford and had strayed and father found them. The extra yoke was a great help as the roads were very boggy. We rested a few hours to let the stock feed. Mr. Bright and two families were with us. We were as wretched as we could be; for we had been five weeks from home, and there was not much prospect of our ever returning. We had not heard a word from brother or the other boys that were driving the cattle. Mother was sick, and we had buried our dear little sister at Liberty.

We continued our journey through mud and water and when we camped in the evening fifty or sixty young men came by who were

going to join General Houston. One of them was Harvey Stafford, our neighbor, who was returning from the United States with volunteers. Father told them there had been fighting, and he informed them that they could not cross the Trinity at Liberty. They brought some good news from our friends. Mr. Stafford had met his sisters, Mrs. Dyer, and Mrs. Neal. He said there had been a great deal of sickness, but no deaths. He said also that General Gaines of the United States army was at the Neches with a regiment of soldiers to keep the Indians in subjection, but didn't prevent the people from crossing with their slaves. General Gaines said the boundary line between the United States and Mexico was the Neches.

The young men went a short distance from us and camped. Then we heard some one calling in the direction of Liberty. We could see a man on horseback waving his hat; and, as we knew there was no one left at Liberty, we thought the Mexican army had crossed the Trinity. The young men came with their guns, and when the rider got near enough for us to understand what he said, it was "Turn back! The Texas army has whipped the Mexican army and the Mexican army are prisoners. No danger! No danger! Turn back!" When he got to the camp he could scarcely speak he was so excited and out of breath. When the young men began to understand the glorious news they wanted to fire a salute, but father made them stop. He told them to save their ammunition, for they might need it.

Father asked the man for an explanation, and he showed a despatch from General Houston giving an account of the battle and saying it would be safe for the people to return to their homes. The courier had crossed the Trinity River in a canoe, swimming his horse with the help of two men. He had left the battle field the next day after the fighting. He said that General Houston was wounded, and that General Santa Anna had not been captured.

The good news was cheering indeed. The courier's name was McDermot. He was an Irishman and had been an actor. He stayed with us that night and told various incidents of the battle. There was not much sleeping during the night. Mr. McDermot said that he had not slept in a week. He not only told various incidents of the retreat of the Texas army, but acted them. The first time that mother laughed after the death of my little

sister was at his description of General Houston's helping to get a cannon out of a bog.

We were on the move early the next morning. The courier went on to carry the glad tidings to the people who had crossed the Sabine, but we took a lower road and went down the Trinity. We crossed the river in a flat boat. When Mr. McDermot left us the

April, 1836.—*On the way back Home.*

young men fired a salute. Then they travelled with us until they crossed the river.

We staid one night at a Mr. Lawrence's, where there were a great many families. Mrs. James Perry was there. She had not gone east of the Trinity. Her husband, Captain James Perry, was in the army. Mrs. Perry was a sister of Stephen F. Austin. My parents knew them in Missouri. She had a young babe and a pretty little daughter named Emily.

After crossing the Trinity River we had a disagreeable time crossing the bay. It had been raining two days and nights. There was a bayou to cross over which there was no bridge, and the only way to pass was to go three miles through the bay to get around the mouth of the bayou. There were guide-posts to point out the way, but it was very dangerous. If we got near the mouth of the bayou there was quicksand. If the wind rose the waves rolled high. The bayou was infested with alligators. A few days before our family arrived at the bay a Mr. King was caught by one and carried under water. He was going east with his family. He swam his horses across the mouth of the bayou, and then he swam back to the west side and drove the cart into the bay. His wife and children became frightened, and he turned back and said he would go up the river and wait for the water to subside. He got his family back on land, and swam the bayou to bring back the horses. He had gotten nearly across with them, when a large alligator appeared. Mrs. King first saw it above water and screamed. The alligator struck her husband with its tail and he went under water. There were several men present, and they fired their guns at the animal, but it did no good. It was not in their power to rescue Mr. King. The men waited several days and then killed a beef, put a quarter on the bank, fastened it with a chain, and then

watched it until the alligator came out, when they shot and killed it. This happened several days before the battle.¹

We passed the bayou without any trouble or accident, except the loss of my sunbonnet. It blew off as we reached the shore. The current was very swift at the mouth of the bayou. Father wanted to swim in and get it for me, but mother begged him not to go in the water, so I had the pleasure of seeing it float away. I don't remember the name of the bayou, but a little town called Wallace was opposite across the bay. We saw the big dead alligator, and we were glad to leave the Trinity.

Father's horse had strayed, but we wouldn't stop to find it. He said when he got home he would go back and hunt for it.

April, 1836.—*On the San Jacinto Battle Field.*

We arrived at Lynchburg in the night. There we met several families that we knew, and among them was our neighbor, Mrs. M—. She had travelled with Moses Shipman's family.

We crossed the San Jacinto the next morning and stayed until late in the evening on the battle field. Both armies were camped near. General Santa Anna had been captured. There was great rejoicing at the meeting of friends. Mr. Leo Roark was in the battle. He had met his mother's family the evening before. He came to the ferry just as we landed, and it was like seeing a brother. He asked mother to go with him to the camp to see General Santa Anna and the Mexican prisoners. She would not go, because, as she said, she was not dressed for visiting; but she gave sister and me permission to go to the camp. I had lost my bonnet crossing Trinity Bay and was compelled to wear a table cloth again. It was six weeks since we had left home, and our clothes were very much dilapidated. I could not go to see the Mexican prisoners with a table cloth tied on my head for I knew several of the young men. I was on the battle field of San Jacinto the 26th of April,

'Mr. King's widow and two children, a son and daughter, lived at Harrisburg for a time after the Revolution and then moved to Galveston. The daughter married a Mr. Vedder, of Galveston, and is still living there. The son also married and lived in Galveston.—ADELE B. LOOSCAN.

To this Mrs. Harris adds that Mrs. King died of yellow fever in Houston in 1836, leaving one son, a printer, Ben F. King.

1836. The 28th was the anniversary of my birth. I was eleven years old.

We stayed on the battle field several hours. Father was helping with the ferry boat. We visited the graves of the Texans that were killed in the battle, but there were none of them that I knew. The dead Mexicans were lying around in every direction.

Mother was very uneasy about Uncle James Wells, who was missing. Mr. Roark said uncle had been sent two days before the battle with Messrs. Church Fulcher, and Wash Secrest to watch General Cos. They had gone to Stafford's Point, and were chased by the Mexicans and separated. Fulcher and Secrest returned before the battle. Mr. Roark says the burning of Vince's bridge prevented several of the scouts from getting back.

Father worked till the middle of the afternoon helping with the ferry boat, and then he visited the camp. He did not see General Santa Anna, but met some old friends he had known in Missouri. We left the battle field late in the evening. We had to pass among the dead Mexicans, and father pulled one out of the road, so we could get by without driving over the body, since we could not go around it. The prairie was very boggy, it was getting dark, and there were now twenty or thirty families with us. We were glad to leave the battle field, for it was a grewsome sight. We

April, 1836.—Leaving the San Jacinto Battle Ground.

camped that night on the prairie, and could hear the wolves howl and bark as they devoured the dead.

We met Mr. Kuykendall's family from Fort Bend, now Richmond. Their hardships had been greater than ours. They had stayed at home and had had no idea that the Mexican army was near. One day the negro ferryman was called in English, and he carried the boat across. On the other side he found the Mexicans, who took possession of the boat and embarked as many soldiers as it could carry. While they were crossing some one said it was Captain Wiley Martin's company. They knew he was above, near San Felipe, and men, women, and children ran down the river bank expecting to meet their friends; but just as the boat landed the negro ferryman called out "Mexicans!" There were three or four families of the Kuykendalls, and they ran for the bottom. Mrs. Abe Kuykendall had a babe in her arms. She ran a short distance

and then thought about her little girl and went back. She saw her husband take the child from the nurse, and she afterwards said she was then the happiest woman in the world.

April, 1836.—*Camping near the Battle Ground.*

The Kuykendalls.

One old gentleman ran back to the house, got his money, went through a potato patch and buried it. The money was silver and was so heavy he could not carry it away. One young married woman with a babe in her arms ran into a big field and followed the party that was on the outside. The fence was high, and they had now gotten out of sight of the Mexicans, so the woman's husband came to the fence, and she gave him the child. He told her to climb over, but she turned and ran in a different direction. Her husband followed the other families. They stayed that night in a cane-brake without anything to eat, and the children suffered terribly. The next day they made their way to Harrisburg and got assistance. They were at Lynchburg during the battle, and were helped by General Houston, and furnished means to get back home.

Mrs. Abe Kuykendall nursed the child that had been left by its mother. She said they had heard from the mother. She had gone through the field and got out, and had gone twenty miles down the river to Henry Jones' ferry, where she fell in with some people she knew. She thought her husband and friends would go there. She was alone the first day and night, and the next day she got to Henry Jones'.

April, 1836.—*Hearing bad News.*

Early the next morning we were on the move. We had to take a roundabout road, for the burning of Vince's bridge prevented us from going directly home. We could hear nothing but sad news. San Felipe had been burned, and dear old Harrisburg was in ashes. There was nothing left of the Stafford plantation but a crib with a thousand bushels of corn. The Mexicans turned the houses at the Point into a hospital. They knew that it was a place where political meetings had been held.

Leo Roark told father while we were in the camps that he was confident Colonel Almonte, General Santa Anna's *aide-de-camp*,

was the Mexican that had the horses for sale in our neighborhood the fourth of July, '34. Father could not get to see General Almonte, for he was anxious to get us away from the battle ground before night.

Burning the saw mill at Harrisburg and the buildings on Stafford's plantation was a calamity that greatly affected the people. On the plantation there were a sugar-mill, cotton-gin, blacksmith-shop, grist-mill, a dwelling-house, negro houses, and a stock of farming implements. The Mexicans saved the corn for bread, and it was a great help to the people of the neighborhood.

April, 1836.—Going Home after the Battle.

We camped that evening on Sims' bayou. We met men with Mexicans going to the army, and heard from Brother Granville. Mr. Adam Stafford had got home with the boys, and they were all well. We heard that the cotton that the farmers had hauled to the Brazos with the expectation of shipping it to Brazoria on the steamer Yellowstone, then at Washington, was safe. Father said if he got his cotton to market I should have two or three sun-bonnets, as he was tired of seeing me wearing a table-cloth around my head.

We heard that Uncle James Wells was at Stafford's Point. He made a narrow escape from being captured by the Mexicans. When he and Messrs. Secrest and Fulcher were run into the bottom, his horse ran against a tree and fell down, and uncle was badly hurt. He lost his horse and gun. He went into the bottom. He saw the houses burning on the Stafford plantation. As he was overseer there when he joined the army at the time when Colonel Travis called for assistance, it was like his home. General Cos marched on the next day, but left a strong guard at the Point.

While mother was talking about Uncle James, he and Deaf Smith rode up to our camp. It was a happy surprise. Uncle James's shoulder was very lame. The night after he lost his horse

April, 1836.—Camping on Sims' Bayou. Meeting Deaf Smith.

and gun he crawled inside the Mexican line and captured a horse and saddle. He then went into the bottom at Mrs. M—.'s house, where he found corn and bacon and a steel mill for grinding the

corn. His arm was so lame he could not grind corn, so he ate fried eggs and bacon. He had been to our house, and he said everything we left on the place had been destroyed. He watched on the prairie that night till he saw so many Mexican fugitives wandering about that he knew there had been a battle. He met Deaf Smith and other men sent by General Houston to carry a dispatch from Santa Anna to Filisola. Deaf Smith told uncle all about the battle, and said he had captured General Cos the next day six miles south of Stafford's Point. Cos had a fine china pitcher full of water and one ear of corn. He carried Cos to the Point, where he got a horse, and then took him back to the San Jacinto battle ground. He left the fine pitcher at the Point, and he gave it to Uncle James. Uncle stayed there till Mr. Smith returned from Filisola's camp with an answer to Santa Anna's dispatch.

Mr. Smith could speak Spanish. He said that when he captured General Cos, whom he did not know, he asked him if he had been in the battle. On being answered in the affirmative, he asked him if he had been a prisoner. General Cos replied that he had not, but that he escaped after dark the evening of the battle, and that he abandoned his horse at the burnt bridge. Smith then asked him if he had seen General Cos, and he said that he had not. Smith continued: "I am Deaf Smith, and I want to find General Cos. He offered one thousand dollars for my head, and if I can find him I will cut off his head and send it to Mexico." When they arrived at the battle ground he was very much surprised to find his prisoner was General Cos. He took the horse and saddle back to Uncle James, and gave him the fine pitcher, and when we got home uncle gave the pitcher to mother.

Father examined uncle's shoulder, and said there were no bones broken, and that he would be well in three or four weeks. Mother had some of Uncle James' clothing. She trimmed his hair, and made him go to the bayou, bathe, and put on clean clothes. All our soldiers were dirty and ragged. As Uncle James had fever, mother wanted him to go home with her, but he would not. He said that he had been absent from the army ten days, and must report to headquarters.

Deaf Smith was very anxious to get back to the army. He was dark and looked like a Mexican. He was dressed in buckskin and

said that he would be ashamed to be seen in a white shirt. He said that Uncle James would be taken for a tory or a stay-at-home.

Deaf Smith was the man that helped burn the Vince bridge. He said if the bridge had not been destroyed, General Filisola would have heard of Santa Anna's defeat and would have marched to his assistance, as he was not more than thirty miles from the battle ground. General Urrea was also on the west bank of the Brazos river with a division of the Mexican army. When the first fugitives from the battle field arrived at the headquarters of Filisola, he did not believe their report, but when others came with the horrid tidings, he became convinced. The Mexican fugitives gave such a dreadful account of Santa Anna's fall that General Filisola, when Deaf Smith arrived, was preparing to cross the river to join General Urrea.

Mr. Smith left our camp before daylight. Uncle James Wells stayed with us until we were ready to start home. He was sick all night, and father gave him medicine and bound up his arm.

General Santa Anna was captured the next day after the battle. He was seen by Captain Karnes to plunge into the bayou on a fine black horse. He made his escape from the battle ground on Allen Vince's horse, but not on the fine saddle. The horse went home carrying a common saddle. He was taken to headquarters and after a few days was restored to Allen Vince. James Brown went to General Sherman and pointed out the horse. General Santa Anna was captured by James A. Silvester, Washington Secrest, and Sion Bostick. A Mr. Cole was the first man that got to Santa Anna.¹ He was hid in the grass, was dirty and wet, and was dressed as a common soldier. He rode to the camps behind Mr. Robinson. The men had no idea that they had Santa Anna a prisoner till the Mexicans began to say in their own language, "the president."

¹A note made by Mrs. Harris in 1898 says: "Santa Anna gave Mr. Cole a cup. Mrs. Cole, his widow, has the cup. She lives at Eagle Lake, Colorado county. Wash Secrest died in Columbus, Colorado county, in the year '59. S. Bostick resided many years in Colorado county. [He now lives at San Saba, Texas.—EDITOR QUARTERLY.] I knew Bostick, Cole, and Secrest."

April 30, 1836.—*Going Home. Mrs. Brown's Family.*

We stayed one day on Sims' bayou. There were more than one hundred families, and all stopped to rest and let the stock feed. We met a Mrs. Brown¹ who was living at William Vince's when the Mexican army crossed the bridge. They took possession of Allen Vince's fine black horse. Mrs. Brown's son James, a lad aged thirteen, went and mounted the horse and would not give him up. The Mexicans made the boy a prisoner. His mother came out and asked for General Santa Anna. Colonel Almonte came out and asked in English what he could do for her. She told him she was a subject of the king of England, and demanded protection. Almonte assured her that she and her children would not be hurt, and ordered her son to be liberated. Santa Anna's servant put a fine saddle on the horse. It was ornamented with gold, and had solid gold stirrups. When the captured plunder was sold at auction, the Texas soldiers bid it in and presented it to General Houston. Mrs. Brown stayed at Mr. William Vince's till after the battle. We met some English friends from Columbia that were going home. The Adkinses that lived in our neighborhood were relatives of Mrs. Brown. We met the pretty English girl, Jenny Adkins. She was married and was the mother of two children.

April 30, 1836.—*Home, Sweet Home.*

We camped one day and two nights on Sim's Bayou. We had traveled since the twenty-first, without resting, half the time in mud and water. It was only fifteen miles home.

Early in the morning we broke camp. We were alone; the other families lived farther down the country. The weather was getting warm, and we stopped two hours in the middle of the day at a water hole. When the sun set we were still five miles from home.

We overtook our nearest neighbor, Mrs. M——. She had left Sims' Bayou that morning with the Shipman family, but had sepa-

¹Mrs. Brown was a Scotch woman. Her son, James K. Brown, afterwards became a prominent merchant of Galveston. He never married, and has been dead many years. A daughter Jessie married a Mr. Wade and lived in St. Louis.—ADELE B. LOOSCAN.

Mrs. Harris adds a note to the effect that Mrs. Brown gave a description of the fine saddle and recounted the story of the burning of the bridge.

rated from them, saying she could find the way home. One of her oxen got down, and she could neither get it up nor get the yoke off the other ox. When we drove up she had her four children on her horse and was going to walk to our house. She knew that we had started home that morning. If we had not stopped two hours we should have been with her about the middle of the afternoon. Father unyoked her oxen, and turned loose one of his that was broken down and put the other along with Mrs. M——'s stronger ox to her cart. It was now dark and we traveled slower. The oxen were tired and kept feeding all the time. One of Mrs. M——'s daughters and I rode her horse; it was a great relief to me, for I was tired of riding in the cart.

It was ten o'clock when we got home. We camped near the house.

Sunday morning, May 1, 1836.—*Home.*

Father said we could not go in until morning. Uncle James told mother that the floor had been torn up by the Mexicans in searching for eggs. He would have put the house in order, but his shoulder and arm were so painful he could not work.

As soon as it was light enough for us to see we went to the house, and the first thing we saw was the hogs running out. Father's bookcase lay on the ground broken open, his books, medicines, and other things scattered on the ground, and the hogs sleeping on them. When Mrs. M——'s children, sister, and I got to the door, there was one big hog that would not go out till father shot at him. Then we children began picking up the books. We could not find those that Colonel Travis gave us, but did find broken toys that belonged to our dear little sister that died. Through the joy and excitement since the battle of San Jacinto, we had forgotten our sad bereavement.

The first thing that father did after breakfast was to go to the corn field. He had planted corn the first of March, and it needed plowing. He did not wait for Monday, or to put the house in order, but began plowing at once. His field was in the bottom, and he had hidden his plow.

Mother said I should ride Mrs. M——'s horse, and go to Stafford's Point and bring Brother Granville home. I did not want to go. Sister said that I could wear her bonnet. My dress was very

much the worse for wear. It was pinned up the back, my shoes were down at the heels, and my stockings were dirty. I was greatly embarrassed, for I knew all the boys were at the Point. I did all the primping that the circumstances would permit, plaiting my hair, etc. I had had my face wrapped in a table cloth till it was thoroughly blanched. When I got to the Point there were more than one hundred people there, men, women, children, negroes, and Mexicans. Many of the Mexicans were sick and wounded; I had never seen such a dirty and ragged crowd. The boys were without shoes and hats, and their hair was down to their shoulders. After I had met them I did not feel ashamed of my appearance. Brother got his horse, and we went home.

I was not near the burnt buildings; the plantation was in the bottom, on Oyster Creek. The Stafford family used the house at the Point for a summer residence; and, as they brought their negroes out of the bottom in the summer, there were a good many houses at the Point.

When brother and I got home we found mother and Mrs. M—— at the wash tub. I was shocked, for mother had always kept the Sabbath. At noon father and brother put down the floor, Mrs. M——'s girls and I scoured it, and we moved in.

Mrs. M—— took a bucket and went back to give water to her sick oxen, but found the ox dead. Brother Granville helped her to move home that evening.

Mother was very despondent, but father was hopeful. He said Texas would gain her independence and become a great nation.

Uncle James Wells came home with two Mexicans for servants, and put them to work in the corn field. There was now a scarcity of bread. The people came back in crowds, stopping at Harrisburg and in our neighborhood. A colony of Irish that had left San Patricio in February stopped at Stafford's Point.

Father had hid some of our things in the bottom, among them a big chest. Mother had packed it with bedding, clothes, and other things we could not take when we left home. After a few days, Uncle and brother hauled it to the house, and that old blue chest proved a treasure. When we left home we wore our best clothes. Now our best clothes were in the chest, among them my old sun-bonnet. I was prouder of that old bonnet than in after years of a new white lace one that my husband gave me.

By the middle of May our neighbors that we had parted from came home. They had got to the Sabine River before they heard of the battle of San Jacinto.

Father and the men that had cotton on the banks of the Brazos went to the river to build a flat boat to ship their cotton to Brazoria. Mother said that it would be best for them to wait a few days, but they would not stop. They said that as they had been camping for two months it would make them sick to sleep in a house. Uncle James stayed with us. He had several bales of cotton, but was not able to work. He looked after our Mexicans and helped the women in the neighborhood to get their corn worked. They all got Mexicans, but it required an overseer to make them work.

There was no prospect of a cotton crop in our neighborhood. The people had been very short of provisions, and there would have been suffering among them if the citizens of New Orleans had not sent a schooner load to Harrisburg. The provisions were distributed without cost.

There was considerable talk of a new town's being started on Buffalo Bayou about ten miles above Harrisburg by the Allen brothers. They wanted to buy out the Harris claim at Harrisburg, but the Harris brothers would not sell.¹

June, 1836.—*Shipping Cotton on a Flatboat.*

The first of June the men sent word that they had the cotton on a boat ready to start, and that Uncle Ned should be sent with the Stafford's wagon to bring home family supplies. It was more than fifty miles by land, but a long and dangerous route by water.

The new town laid out by the Allens was named Houston, in honor of General Houston. There were circulars and drawings sent out, which represented a large city, showing churches, a courthouse, a market house and a square of ground set aside to use for a building for Congress, if the seat of government should be located there. The government had been on the move since the

¹The land at Harrisburg was in litigation between the heirs of Jno. R. Harris and Robert Wilson, and by the time the courts were in session and the suit settled, the town of Houston had been made the seat of government, which gave it a great advantage over the more favorably located town of Harrisburg.—ADELE B. LOOSCAN.

beginning of February, stopping temporarily at Washington on the Brazos, Harrisburg, Washington on the bay, Galveston Island, Lynchburg, Velasco, and Columbia. There was so much excitement about the city of Houston that some of the young men in our neighborhood, my brother among them, visited it. After being absent some time they said that it was hard work to find the city in the pine woods; and that, when they did, it consisted of one dugout canoe, a bottle gourd of whisky and a surveyor's chain and compass, and was inhabited by four men with an ordinary camping outfit. We had a good joke on the boys at their disappointment. We asked them at what hotel they put up, and whether they went to church and to the theater. They took our teasing in good part and said they were thankful to get home alive. They said the mosquitoes were as large as grasshoppers, and that to get away from them they went bathing. The bayou water was clear and cool, and they thought they would have a nice bath, but in a few minutes the water was alive with alligators. One man ran out on the north side, and the others, who had come out where they went in, got a canoe and rescued him. He said a large panther had been near by, but that it ran off as the canoe approached.

While father was gone, a man came to our house trying to find a place to teach school. Mother told him that the men who had families were absent, but that she thought he could get a school, and that she expected father home in a few days. He said he was without money. He had been in the battle of San Jacinto, but as the army had gone west, he had decided to teach until he could get money to return to the United States. He offered to teach us three children for his board until he could get a school. Mother was glad to have a teacher for us, for we had been out of school since September, '35, when our teacher and the young men had gone to San Antonio, then in possession of the Mexicans under General Cos. We gathered what books we could and began work. We were well

June, 1836.—*Stafford's Point.*

pleased with the teacher, whose name was Bennet. We were without paper and wrote on slates.

The first copy Mr. Bennet wrote seemed to amuse our Mexican servant. He picked up a pencil, wrote a few words, and handed the

slate to Mr. Bennet. The Mexican wrote French, and the teacher was a French scholar, and they had a long conversation in that language. The Mexican had been a colonel under Santa Anna, and he said that he and Santa Anna were not far apart when the battle began. The Mexican soldiers were resting, and Santa Anna was asleep, not expecting an attack by the Texans. The cavalry had just finished watering their horses, and Santa Anna's servant was riding Allen Vince's fine black stallion, using a common saddle. He said the last he had seen of Santa Anna was when he was mounting the horse dressed in ordinary clothes. We had treated the Mexican like a negro servant, and had made him work, churn, wash, and do all kinds of drudgery, besides working in the corn field. He said he was well off, and had a home and family in Mexico. He stayed with us only a few days after he let us know he was a gentleman. I don't remember his name. We called him Anahuac, after the town that was the Mexican port of entry.

July 4, 1836.—*A Bull fight.*

Father and the men arrived home the last of June. It was three weeks from the time they left Mr. William Little's before they landed at Brazoria. They sold their cotton for a good price and bought family supplies. Father did not forget his promise, but got sister and me nice bonnets.

The men employed Mr. Bennet to teach, and built a shed on the side of the log cabin we used the year before for a school house. A blacksmith, a Mr. Thompson, had rented the house and opened a shop. He said then when it rained he would quit work and let the children use his shop. There were only eight pupils. Mr. Dyer sent three boys and Mrs. M—— two girls. Mr. A—— would not send his children. He and Mrs. M—— were keeping up their quarrel. Brother Granville and William Dyer were the largest boys in school.

We had been in school but a few days when we had quite an adventure with two wild bulls. There was no fence around the log house, and the cattle fed close by. One day two large bulls were fighting, and got near the house. The teacher said for the children to go into the shop. We ran to the door, but could not get it open; so we climbed up the side of the house, and with the help of the

teacher and the boys got on the roof. By the time we reached it the bulls were under the shed. It was fun for the boys, but the girls were scared. The bulls pawed the ground, fought, and bellowed, the boys laughing and hallooing, and the girls crying. The boys said we would have to stay on the house all night, if nobody came for us. The teacher was as helpless as a child. He had been reared in Mobile, Alabama. After the boys had had their fun, they got down and ran the cattle off. The bulls quit fighting and went away bellowing. The next day the men built a fence around the school house. Our Texas boys had a good joke on Mr. Bennet; they said if he had showed fight the cattle would have run.

Mr. William Stafford, owner of the Stafford plantation came back to Texas. He and his family had been living in the United States since the year '34. He came back by water and landed at Galveston. He had not had a letter from Texas since April. His daughters had written while they were on the Sabine river, but he heard at Galveston for the first time that all the buildings on his plantation had been burned by the Mexicans. He said he would not rebuild, and gave his land and cattle to his sons, Adam and Harvey, and his married daughters, Mrs. Dyer and Mrs. Neal. He meant to move the negroes, who had built several small houses, to Eastern Texas in the winter.

July, 1836.—*The great City of Houston.*

We heard glowing accounts of the city on Buffalo Bayou. Several families from Brazoria and Columbia had moved there, among them Ben Fort Smith, his mother, Mrs. Obedience Smith, and family, Mr. Woodruff, Mr. Mann, with his wife and two step sons, Flournoy Hunt and Sam Allen, Moseley Baker, and others. Uncle James had gone to Houston to locate land. Everybody had the Houston fever. They were building a steam saw mill there. Father was going to locate land near Houston on Bray's Bayou. Mr. Smith wanted him to settle in town, and said he would give him a lot; but father could not do so, as he had to live on the land to secure title.

The fourth of July came and went and we had no celebration, but were to have a barbecue and ball in September. President David G. Burnet issued a proclamation for an election the first Monday in September. The young people had no amusements and

no church to attend. I was in my twelfth year and had not heard a sermon since Easter '33, when I was in New Orleans. We had been disappointed the Christmas before in our expectation of going to a ball at Henry Jones' and seeing the steamer Yellowstone. The boat ran down the river a few days before the battle of San Jacinto, and the Mexicans tried to catch it with their lariats. The Yellowstone had gone to New Orleans.

August, 1836. .

August came, but it seemed as if September never would. Our school was doing well, and several young men had entered, among them Leo and Jack Roark, Moses and James Shipman, Mr. Calder and Harvey Stafford.

Mr. Stafford had gone back to the United States. His wife was to return to Texas in the winter and take the slaves back to Eastern Texas. There was a prospect for plenty of corn in our neighborhood, but no cotton, as there was no cotton gin. Father said there would be good crops of both corn and cotton raised near Brazoria and Columbia.

One of father's St. Louis friends, Mr. Gillette, was visiting us. His wife was a sister of Ex-Governor Henry Smith's wife. Mr. Gillette's wife died while we were in St. Louis. He had two little children, a boy named Edwin and a girl named Martha. Mother took care of the children till they were sent to married sisters in Kentucky. We were glad to see Mr. Gillette, especially since he had seen mother's father three months before, while we had not heard from St. Louis in three years. It was a great satisfaction to hear from our friends.

September, 1836.—*An Election.*

The first of September was Monday.¹ The election held then was the

All things come to him who waits. The barbecue, ball, and election were at Mr. Dyer's, near our house. The people came from different settlements and several of our Harrisburg friends were there. William Harris and Robert Wilson were judges and Clinton

¹This is a mistake. September the first, 1836, came on Thursday.—EDITOR QUARTERLY.

Harris clerk. Others from Harrisburg were Mr. Doby, George and Isaac Iiams, James Brewster, Miss Isabella Harris, sister of the four brothers, Lewis B. Harris and several young ladies, among them Misses Elizabeth and Jane Earl. Mr. McDermot, the courier who had carried the news of the battle of San Jacinto to the Sabine River, was there. He was young, handsome, and sociable, and was quite a hero. He was electioneering for Sam Houston and Mirabeau Lamar. When the returns came in Houston was elected president and Lamar, vice-president.

I had been to an election in Harrisburg in the year '33, when a delegate was elected to represent Coahuila and Texas in the Mexican Congress, but I don't remember the names of the candidates. The next election I attended was at Mr. Dyer's, when delegates were sent to San Felipe, in the fall of '35. W. P. Harris and C. C. Dyer were elected at that time. That election for president and vice-president of the Republic of Texas, September 1, 1836, was the last I attended. There was no drinking or fighting. The ladies spent the day quilting. The young people began dancing at three o'clock and kept it up till next morning. * * * Mother had ripped up an old silk and made me a ball dress. It was one she had before she married, and it had been left in the old blue chest that was hid in the bottom when we ran away from the Mexicans. That was my last ball at an election. After that there was too much whisky drunk for ladies to be present. * * *

October, 1836.—After the Ball.

We were going to school. Mother was very anxious to move, and would have gone to the United States, if father had consented.

Congress met at Columbia the third of this month. President David G. Burnet retired from office, and Houston and Lamar were inaugurated.

There was a great deal of excitement among the people in regard to General Santa Anna. He was a prisoner, and there were some of the Texans who would have had him shot for the slaughter of Colonel Fannin's men; while others wished him sent to Mexico, under promise to acknowledge the independence of Texas. There had been severe threats made against President Burnet, and he was glad to become a private citizen. Father said that Mr. Burnet was

honorable and just in all his official life, but there were so many ambitious men in Texas they were liable to start strife among the people. If Colonel Travis and Colonel Fannin had obeyed orders and retreated until they could have joined General Houston at Gonzales, the Mexican army could not have crossed the Colorado, but every man seemed to think he could command an army.

November and December, 1836.

Our school closed the last of December and Mr. Bennet went back to the United States. Father took him to Harrisburg, where he boarded a schooner for New Orleans. That was the first time father had been to Harrisburg after the Mexicans burned it. He said the people were building, and that they had made the Mexicans burn brick and help build houses.

Father visited the new town at Houston. He said the Allens would bring a steamboat from New York the next year; that they were having one built. It was to run from Galveston to Houston. They would have bought the Yellowstone, but she was too large to turn around in Buffalo Bayou.

Mrs. Stafford came back. She was getting ready to move the negroes. She said she would farm near the Sabine river, while Mr. Stafford stayed in the state of Mississippi, and if Texas were invaded again by Mexico, she would cross the negroes into Louisiana, as they had the right to run from the Indians or Mexicans. Uncle Ned came to tell us goodby. He said he would take care of his mistress and take the negroes to the United States.

January 1, 1837.

The year '36 had gone with all its horrors. The Christmas before, in 1835, we were expecting to go to Henry Jones' to a ball and to see the steamer Yellowstone carry off the cotton. She did not come, but ferried the Texas army across the Brazos at Groce's. While a part of the Mexican army was camped at Henry Jones' ferry she passed down, and the Mexicans tried to catch her with their lariats.

This Christmas there had been three deaths, two of them in our neighborhood. Mrs. Roark died on Christmas day, Mr. Shipman's eldest son died a few days after, and a Mr. Gordon died with consumption.

All our neighbors were preparing to move. Mr. Dyer was to move to Fort Bend, and Mr. Neal had located land on Bray's Bayou, ten miles from Houston. Mr. Bell lived on rented land and was going to move. Since the cotton gin on Stafford's plantation had been burned there was no use for the farmers to raise cotton, for they would have had to haul it twenty miles to have it ginned. No one would build again till the trouble with Mexico was settled.

General Santa Anna was still a prisoner. Father saw him at Dr. Phelps's, near Columbia. Stephen F. Austin died early in December, but we did not hear the sad news till father returned from Columbia.

February, 1837.

Father was planting corn. He said there would be a market for corn, as there would be a great many people coming to Texas that year. The planters from the states of Mississippi and Louisiana were moving to Texas.

Congress had appointed judges and divided Texas into judicial districts. Court was to be held in Houston in March as that town was to be the seat of Harris county. Congress was to meet in Houston in May. The land office at San Felipe had been closed by the Mexican government in the year '34. Father and Colonel Travis, the hero of the Alamo, were in San Felipe at the time. Father didn't locate land. The land office would be opened the first of June in Houston. Father was going to locate land on Bray's Bayou, five miles from Houston, and was to move there in the summer. We were very sorry to move from the place that had been our home since January '34, but as father was to get a home very near Houston the change would be for the best.

Mrs. M— was to remain. She had a large stock of cattle and did not pay any rent, so she was satisfied. Father advised her to locate land, but all the land near by had been grabbed by speculators that had swarmed in from the United States.

March, 1837.—*Court in Houston.*

The first court held in the Republic of Texas, under the new régime, was in Houston, March, 1837. Father attended the court. He had been summoned by the sheriff of Harrisburg county, John W. Moore, to serve on the grand jury. The jury sat

on a log under an arbor of pine bushes. Mr. Moore had been alcalde under the Mexican government.

This court witnessed another act in the A— and M— tragedy. Mrs. M— went before the grand jury and had Mr. A— indicted for the murder of her husband. He was the first man tried in Houston for murder and he was acquitted. He had been tried at Harrisburg for the same crime before Judge David G. Burnet in '34 and pronounced not guilty. Poor man, he had had so much trouble he decided to leave that part of Texas.

Father said he went out on Bray's Bayou and cut his name on a pine tree, and that he would camp there soon and build a corn crib, so he could claim the land.

One of Mr. Woodruff's step-daughters, Miss Mary Smith, married a Mr. McCrory.¹ They were the first people to marry in Houston.

The young men in Houston were preparing to give a grand ball on the twenty-first of April. The dancing was to be in the capitol building, if the representative hall was in a condition to be used.

April, 1837.—*Celebrating the First Anniversary of the Battle of San Jacinto near Stafford's Point.*

When father returned from Houston after the grand jury adjourned he said that if possible he would take us to the ball on the twenty-first of April at Houston. He had an invitation for Mrs. Rose and daughters, with Clinton Harris' compliments written on the back. To say I was wild at the prospect would best describe my happiness, till mother reminded me that one of our neighbors, a Mrs. Turner, was very sick and had sent for father as soon as he returned home. She said that she would not leave a sick neighbor with two children to go anywhere. The Turners were refugees from San Patricio and had been but a short time among us.

The young men in our neighborhood said that they must have a

¹Mr. McCrory was a gallant soldier in the war for independence. He lived only a few weeks after his marriage, and some years afterwards his widow married Hon. Anson Jones, the last President of the Republic of Texas. Mrs. Jones is still living at her home in Houston.—ADELE B. LOOSCAN.

ball on the first anniversary of the battle of San Jacinto. There were but few young ladies amongst us. Several had married and moved away, and everyone that could was going to Houston. Mrs. Dyer said that they could dance at her house. There was an old Irishman living near us that had two pretty daughters, but he would not allow the boys to visit them; so the young men asked mother to see if she could get him to let the girls attend the ball. Their mother had been dead several years. Mother went to see the old man, whose name was Paddy Malone. The names of the girls were Margaret and Rosie. He was so pleased by mother's visit that he consented for her to take them to the ball. He was a Roman Catholic, and asked mother not to let any d— heretic make love to his girls.

The ball was not a success. There were but few young people present, and the pretty young Irish girls monopolized all the attention of the young men. None of our Harrisburg friends attended. * * * This was the last time the four families of Dyer, Neal, Bell, and Rose met. We had lived near neighbors since the year '34 without a word of dissension among us.

After the ball we all went home sadly disappointed, and to make the affair worse, several young people stopped at our house on their way from Houston and told us what a grand affair the first San Jacinto ball there had been.

The summer of '37 soon passed. We had a good school and raised a good crop. Harvey Stafford died very suddenly with congestion. As his death occurred soon after our San Jacinto ball, it was a sad bereavement, for he was a favorite with the old people as well as young. The Irish colony from San Patricio left early in the summer, and Paddy Malone with his pretty daughters went with them.

In September we moved to our new home on Bray's Bayou. We lived that winter in a log house, attending church in Houston and going to school there in the year '38. The teacher's name was Hambleton. He taught the second school in Houston. Mrs. Sawyer taught the first. She married a Mr. Lockhart. The school house was built of rough plank and consisted of two rooms. The boys' room was without a plank floor, and there was no shutter to the door, nor glass to the window. Rough planks placed on barrels and nail kegs served for desks and seats. The names of the families

represented were: Rose, Parker, Woodruff, King, Macleroy, Cooper, Martin, Kilgore, Gayley, and Vernon. Sam Allen and his half-brother, Flournoy Hunt, attended, and others whose names I don't remember, among them a pretty girl from New York, who criticised our school, Texas, and Houston till we nicknamed her Texas. Several German families sent their children to study English.

DIFFICULTIES OF A MEXICAN REVENUE OFFICER
IN TEXAS.

EUGENE C. BARKER.

"The Mexican National Congress met on the first of January, 1835, in pursuance of the plan of Cuernavaca. The centralists had triumphed everywhere, except in the two states of Zacatecas and Coahuila and Texas."¹ And steps were already in progress to establish the central authority in the Texas part of the latter state.

Near the last of January, 1835,² there arrived at Anahuac a detachment of thirty-four Mexican soldiers and two officers from the regiments of Abasola and Jimenes³, sent by General Cos under the command of Captain Antonio Tenorio, to assist in re-establishing there the custom house. Anahuac was the chief port of the department of Nacogdoches, whose imports in 1834 were valued at \$265,000⁴, and the duties on these would perhaps have paid the government a small profit above the cost of collection; but it is easy to imagine in the renewed attempt to enforce the revenue laws at this time the beginning of a scheme for the gradual extension, under the color of constitutionality, of the central power over the province of Texas. No effort, however, had been made to collect customs in this department for "several years"⁵—presumably not since the expulsion of Bradburn and Ugartechea in 1832,—and

¹Yoakum: *History of Texas*, I, 329-30.

²*Texas Republican*, August 8, 1835.—Austin Papers, in the collection of Hon. Guy M. Bryan. Also Tenorio to Ugartechea, January 31, 1835.—Bexar Archives.

Edward (*History of Texas*, 235) says they arrived in "the fall of 1834;" and Mrs. Harris (*Reminiscences of Mrs. Dilue Harris, Quarterly of the Texas Historical Association*, IV, 107) says that "more" troops were sent to Anahuac in May, 1834.

³Tenorio to Ugartechea, January 31, 1835.—Bexar Archives.

⁴Almonte's Report, in Kennedy's *Texas*, II, 78.

⁵*Texas Republican*, August 8, 1835.—Austin Papers.

this violent precedent, together with the free trade habits fostered during the interim, augured ill for the comfort of the new officers.

Nor was colonial opposition the only difficulty with which Captain Tenorio had to contend. He seems to have come to Texas with instructions to garrison the Island of Galveston, but explained to Ugartechea, in a letter dated January 31, that after disembarking at Galveston, he had thought it best to proceed to Anahuac, "where there were means of living;" while at the same time he complained that he could do very little to prevent smuggling because of his lack of boats, that his force was too small "to compel respect for the national honor," and that, being without cavalry or trustworthy messengers among the colonists, and the bi-weekly post established between Bexar and Nacogdoches not extending to Anahuac, his position was deplorably isolated. The soldier, who was to carry this letter to Brazoria, whence it would be forwarded to San Antonio, returned with it after an absence of some seven weeks, saying that the American, with whom he sailed for Velasco, landed him on the sand bar, where he was poisoned by the captain of the "*Ojallo*"—Ohio—which was stranded there, lest he should give information of the smuggling in which the vessel was engaged.¹

Tenorio promptly reported this to Colonel Ugartechea, and urged that postal service be provided between Anahuac and Nacogdoches; but more pressing troubles had now forced themselves upon his attention. His supplies were almost exhausted; the merchants refused to furnish him anything, "fearing very justly," as he said, that the government, as in past years, would not pay them for advances made to the troops; and the revenue collector declared that he was forbidden to use the funds in his hands except for the payment of custom house employees, and that no assistance, therefore, should be expected from him in the support of the soldiers. Tenorio closed his letter with an earnest request that this officer be instructed to help him, else he should "be obliged to help himself in order to satisfy the first law of nature."² Added to all these causes of uneasiness, he felt that an attack from the colonists

¹Tenorio to Ugartechea, March 21, 1835.—Bexar Archives.

²Tenorio to Ugartechea, March 21, 1835.—Bexar Archives.

was a possibility at any time, and he was insufficiently armed. The commander of the Mexican war schooner *Moctezuma* lent him three muskets, but he still needed five guns to complete his armament, and begged Ugartechea to forward them to him immediately.¹

Moreover, the hardships of the garrison were beginning to tell on the morale of the soldiers. Two of them went into the pay of the enemy, informing them of everything that went on in the quarters, and trying to induce their comrades to desert. Under their persuasions several of the soldiers did desert—five at one time, and others in smaller numbers—and Tenorio complained bitterly that not only would the civil authorities not help him to recover them, but that they actually had furnished them passports through the colonies.²

The first rift in the sombre horizon of the sorely harassed captain appeared when Lieutenant Ignacio Duran, of the battalion of Abasola, arrived on the first of May with reinforcements. He brought with him nine men, fifty guns, a hundred and fifty flints, and \$2,310 for the payment of the troops.³ Tenorio, having despaired of arousing his superiors to a sense of his critical condition by any number of letters, had dispatched Lieutenant Carlos Ocampo to make a personal appeal to Ugartechea.⁴ For the moment, then, this unexpected assistance induced in him a more hopeful view of the situation, but the customary gloom began again to settle around him when he found, on May 4, that the lumber which had been sent him "for the purpose of rebuilding Fort Dabis," had been burned during the night. The outrage, he said, was the work "of a certain Mores," whom he reported to the commissary of police, but that official, instead of arresting Mores, "took absolutely no steps whatever."⁵ And another difficulty now

¹Tenorio to Ugartechea, April 2, 1835.—Bexar Archives.

²Tenorio to Ugartechea, May 18, 1835.—Bexar Archives.

Several references will be made to letters of this date. Mexican official etiquette forbade the discussion of more than one subject in a single letter, so that, although these were all written at the same time, they were sent under different covers.

³Tenorio to Ugartechea, May 18, 1835.—Bexar Archives.

⁴Tenorio to Ugartechea, April 2, 1835.—Bexar Archives.

⁵Tenorio to Ugartechea, May 18, 1835.—Bexar Archives.

confronting him was the lack of non-commissioned officers. He therefore requested that he be empowered to regularly appoint corporals.¹

Tenorio was temporarily elated again about this time by an assertion of authority on the part of the Mexican schooner *Moctezuma*. The merchant vessel *Martha* being found without clearance papers, was captured and carried as a prize to Vera Cruz.² Nine passengers, on board without passports, were arrested and left in the custody of the custom house officer at Galveston.³ And a rumor was abroad that while on her way to Vera Cruz, the *Moctezuma* had stopped at Velasco, and finding there the merchant vessel *Columbia*, also without clearance papers, had captured her too. The effect upon the colonists of thus tightening the reins of authority Tenorio deemed already salutary. "They are not so proud," he wrote, "and they draw the conclusion that more troops are coming; because, as they say, this act indicates security, and that we have lost the fear that they imagine we have of them, since we now dare to harm them, which he did not do before."⁴

This exuberant confidence, however, was short lived. So far the discomforts of the garrison had been due mainly to original lack of equipment and subsequent neglect from the government; while the semi-passive hostility of the colonists had been only a vague cause of uneasiness in the background. Some of the latter for a time paid the duties levied on their goods; others promised to pay and often never redeemed their pledge;⁵ while still others were considerate enough to bring in their cargoes under cover of night without disturbing the officers, and thus there was no occasion for friction. But in this arrangement lay the seed of discord.

¹Tenorio to Ugartechea, May 18, 1835.—Bexar Archives.

²Juan Calvi to Tenorio, May 17, 1835.—Bexar Archives.

³The names of these passengers, as reported by Tenorio, were: The colonists, C. T. Branch, Edward S. Roffe, H. Cunningham, Wm. D. T. Shilton, and S. Batter; the visitors, C. W. Ogden, C. S. Buffen, and Elija Williams; and the intended colonist, J. B. Hiyan.

⁴Tenorio to Ugartechea, May 18, 1835.—Bexar Archives.

⁵*Ibid.*

Those who paid began to murmur that the illicit trade of their less conscientious neighbors should be suppressed, and the latter probably grew envious of those fortunate individuals whose credit was good at the custom house and who were thereby enabled to introduce their merchandise free, without undergoing the inconvenience of smuggling. The result was that many soon refused openly to pay duties at all.¹

The discontent of the colonists was increased, too, from the fact that the revenue laws were not enforced consistently in different parts of the same section. The collector for the "ports of Galveston"—Galveston and Anahuac—was Don José Gonzalez, but apparently without authority, he stationed himself at Brazoria, a much more pleasant post, and began the discharge of his office by collecting only the tonnage duties, saying that he had no instruction to levy the specific duties of the tariff;² while at the same time his deputies, Gil Hernandez and Martin de Alegria took charge respectively of the custom houses at Galveston and Anahuac and attempted to enforce the tariff in its fullest extent. The opposition of the merchants of Anahuac had reached such a point by the middle of April as to induce the loyal Ayuntamiento of Liberty to issue a proclamation (April 17) informing "all the good citizens of this Jurisdiction that a proper obedience to the Laws is the first duty of a good citizen," and that "the *revenue* laws like all other political laws are to be respected by those who come within the legitimate scope of their action." They were of the opinion that the tariff was "disproportionate in some particulars and oppressive in others," and stood in "great need of modification;" but thought this modification could only be effected by the national Congress, and in the meantime urged all "good citizens" to observe, and all military officers to enforce the revenue laws.³

¹Ugartechea to Tenorio, April 14, 1835.—Bexar Archives.

²*Texas Republican*, August 8, 1835.—Austin Papers.

³Manifesto of the Ayuntamiento of Liberty (April 17, 1835), in the *Texas Republican*, May 30, 1835.—Austin Papers.

Edward (*History of Texas*, 235-38) prints this document under the date of June 1, and all succeeding historians have followed him. Yoakum (*History of Texas*, I, 339) has slipped into a strange anachronism by declaring

The irate citizens of Anahuac were little impressed by this appeal for the observance of the laws, but the suggestion that they might be modified seemed worth investigating; and so, on May 4,—the day on which Tenorio found his lumber burned—some twenty or twenty-five men gathered at the house of Benjamin Freeman, and framed a memorial to the governor of the state, asking him to intercede with Congress for a remission of the tariff in Texas. They gave as their reason for such a request, "That for several years past no duties have been demanded in any part of these colonies, and even now none are demanded at any port but that of Galveston; that this Jurisdiction is the poorest and least improved of any in all Texas; that though any part of these colonies are too poor to pay the regular duties according to the Mexican Tariff, this is the least able of any.* * * And though they have so patiently submitted for so long a time to this injustice, they have at length resolved to pay no more, till custom houses shall be organized and duties collected throughout all the other parts of these colonies. * * * The poverty of the citizens of these colonies and of this Jurisdiction in particular, their increasing population, the scarcity of provisions in the country, and the difficulty of securing supplies make it absolutely necessary that all kinds of provisions and groceries, and all other articles of absolute necessity, should be imported duty free, it being impossible to procure these things in a Mexican market, a sufficiency not being made in this country, and there being an insufficiency of money in the country to pay the duty on half the articles of absolute necessity to the existence of these colonies. * * *"¹

that the manifesto was issued in denunciation of Travis and his party who expelled Tenorio from Anahuac,—though the uniformly accepted date of that act is June 30—and refers to Edward (235) as his authority. Bancroft (*North Mexican States and Texas*, II, 156) understood that this proclamation was not issued against Travis, but says later that the Ayuntamiento of Liberty did condemn him, and carelessly following Yoakum in his reference cites for confirmation *Edward*, 235-38, where this document is printed.

¹Memorial to the Governor of Coahuila and Texas, in the *Texas Republican*, August 8, 1835.—Austin Papers.

The belief that the tariff was not in force in other parts of Texas was unfounded. There was a custom house in operation at Matagorda at this time, the proceeds of which were applied toward the support of the troops at San Antonio (Ugartechea to Cos, July 25, 1835.—Bexar Archives).

Following this address to the governor several resolutions were passed, one of which characteristically declared that until the object of the memorial could be accomplished, "no duties should be collected in this port unless the collection is also equally enforced throughout the province, nor until then will we pay any duties on importations into this port."¹ And a copy of this was to be furnished the collector, Don José Gonzalez, who had relieved Señor De Alegria, his deputy at Anahuac, on April 25. The chairman of the meeting, William Hardin, having hastily departed for the United States, however, without affixing his official signature to these documents, they seem to have been considered invalidated and were never forwarded to their destinations."²

Nevertheless, the independent attitude of Anahuac can hardly be said to have been without effect. It doubtless hastened the departure of Gonzalez, who left for Mexico with his deputy and some of the custom house clerks on the ninth of May;³ and report of the meeting reaching General Cos at Matamoras probably did more than all Tenorio's previous complaints to arouse that gentleman to the importance of hastening reinforcements to Texas.

After the abandonment of his post by Gonzalez, Tenorio exercised the duties of a collector for a time—without authority, as he himself admitted, but he thought it would establish a disastrous precedent to allow ships to land their cargoes without any attempt to collect the duties, and felt that the end justified the means.⁴ He must have been soon relieved by an authorized collector, however, for he tells us that on the eleventh of June the collector asked him for a guard of four soldiers and a corporal,

¹Resolutions of the Anahuac Meeting, May 4, 1835, in the *Texas Republican*, August 8, 1835.—Austin Papers.

It is interesting to note that I. N. Moreland, the secretary of the Ayuntamiento of Liberty, which had so loyally exhorted "all good citizens" some three weeks before to support the revenue collectors, was also secretary of this meeting.

²A. Briscoe to the Editor of the *Texas Republican*, July 11, 1835, in the *Texas Republican*, August 8, 1835.—Austin Papers.

³Tenorio to Ugartechea, May 18, 1835; and Hernandez to Ugartechea, May 30, 1835.—Bexar Archives.

⁴Tenorio to Ugartechea, May 18, 1835.—Bexar Archives.

giving as his reason for the request that Mr. Briscoe was going to call during the day to pay some duties which he owed and might attack the office.¹

"The office received no insult" on this occasion, writes Tenorio, but on the "night of the 12th the same Mr. Briscoe took from his house a box, and went to the sea shore to embark it; but the collector and the guard also went to the sea shore, and when they tried to arrest Briscoe and two other Americans they resisted with arms, and one of them—named Smith—was shot and wounded by one of the soldiers. * * * Mr. Briscoe was simply making fun of the collector with all this business, for when the box was opened, it was found to be full of mere rubbish."² To Tenorio this seemed a maliciously planned joke, but the account of DeWitt Clinton Harris, one of the "two other Americans" with Briscoe, gives another view of it.³ On his return to Harrisburg, Harris sent a report of this trouble to San Felipe, and his statement, together with other events which soon occurred there, hastened the climax of Tenorio's difficulties.

On May 26, General Cos wrote from Matamoras to inform the Anahuac commandant that the battalion of Morelos would embark immediately for Copano, whence they could be quickly distributed

¹Tenorio to Ugartechea, June 25, 1835.—Bexar Archives.

²Ibid.

³QUARTERLY, II, 23.

Harris says: " * * * About eight o'clock a young man came to the store and asked Briscoe for a box to put ballast in; this Mr. Briscoe gave him, and he placed it in a wheelbarrow filled with brick and started for the beach; after he left the store I observed to Mr. Briscoe that we could now ascertain whether my goods would be stopped or not. Shortly after, we heard the young man calling for Mr. Smith, the interpreter. Mr. Briscoe and I then walked up to the young man, and found that he had been stopped by the guard. Mr. Smith soon came up and informed the guard of the contents of the box; this appeared to satisfy him, and the box was taken to the beach, Mr. Briscoe and I going with the young man. After the box was put in the boat and we were about returning, ten or twelve Mexican soldiers came on us and ordered us to stand. Mr. Briscoe and I were taken prisoners. As we were ascending the bank a young man named Wm. Smith came down the hill, and when within ten feet of us was shot down. * * * Mr. Briscoe and I were then put in the calaboose, where I remained until next day at 11 o'clock, when I was liberated, Briscoe still being detained."

throughout Texas as occasion required, and that he had urged the general government to send additional reinforcements at once. In closing, he said: "You will operate in every case with extreme prudence, but if by any fatality the public order should be overturned, you are to proceed without any contemplation against whomsoever may occasion it without permitting for any cause the national arms and decorum to be tarnished."¹ This note was not dispatched until about the middle of June, and the friends of Captain Tenorio, who seems to have been rather popular, seized the opportunity to send him congratulatory messages upon his approaching deliverance. On reaching Bexar, the express bearing these letters received another of a very encouraging tone from Colonel Ugartechea, expressing the belief that "these revolutionists will be ground down," and that they should soon see each other.² All this would doubtless have proved extremely comforting to Tenorio; but it was the courier's ill luck at San Felipe, on June 21, to fall in with a contingent of the war party, and though he attempted to save his dispatches by passing them quickly to a friendly American, he was detected; and his captors were soon in possession of them.³

News reaching the Texans some time before this of the deposition and imprisonment of their governor, Augustin Viesca, had caused a good deal of excitement; and J. B. Miller, the Political Chief of the Department of the Brazos, had asked that delegates from the different parts of his department meet at San Felipe on June 22 to consider the advisability of attempting a rescue. San Felipe itself was mainly in favor of war with Mexico, and the people were considerably elated by the capture of these dispatches, believing that the information contained in them would rouse the meeting of the next day into hostile action. Their hopes, however, were disappointed; the majority of the delegates, presided over by R. M. Williamson,⁴ favored a policy of inaction and nothing was done. But

¹*Texas Republican*, July 4, 1835.—Austin Papers.

²Ugartechea to Tenorio, June 20, 1835, in the *Texas Republican*, July 4, 1835.—Austin Papers.

³Gritten to Ugartechea, July 5, 1835.—Bexar Archives.

⁴Williamson to the People of Texas (Circular), July 4, 1835. Brown: *History of Texas*, I, 294. *A Comprehensive History of Texas*, I, 168.

the war party were determined, and secretly assembling later on¹ they appointed the Political Chief chairman of their meeting,² and passed resolutions authorizing W. B. Travis to collect a company of men and eject Tenorio from the garrison at Anahuac before the arrival of reinforcements. This commission he accepted the more cheerfully, perhaps, because, as he said, he had already been invited there for the same purpose by some of his friends, who were the "principal citizens" of the place, and who "were suffering under the despotic rule of the military."³

Travis immediately began the formation of a volunteer company, and in San Felipe and Harrisburg thirty men signed an agreement to meet at Lynch's ferry, and march against the garrison. Ten of these failed to start on the expedition, and three of the Harrisburg contingent withdrew at Vince's Bayou; but by the addition of eight men from Lynchburg and Spilman's Island the party was again increased to twenty-five.⁴ A halt was made at Clopper's Point,

¹Edward: *History of Texas*, 238.

²*Texas Republican*, August 8, and September 26, 1835; and Cos to Ayuntamiento of Columbia (MS.), August 12, 1835.—Austin Papers.

³Travis to Henry Smith, July 6, 1835, in the QUARTERLY, II, 24.

⁴John W. Moore's *The Capture of Anahuac* (MS.).

The agreement which they signed read like this: "We whose names are hereunto subscribed feeling the necessity of disarming the military of Anahuac pledge ourselves to rendezvous at Lynches on San Jacinto on Saturday next armed and equipped for the expedition, and that we will form ourselves into a volunteer company & march under the orders of the officers we may elect—Sanfilipe de Austin June 22d 1835."

Those who went from San Felipe and Harrisburg are given as: John W. Moore, Wm. B. Travis, Elija Hunnings, Wm. E. Harris, David Harris, Cado Allen, Rufus Wright, E. Mather, H. C. Hudson, A. Farmer, Edward Wray, James Webb, James Brown, Joseph Atkins, John Reese, Andrew Lawson, and Andrew Robinson.

Those who signed, but failed to go, were: Thomas Gay, Edward P. Whitehead, Jackson Roark, Abner Eckols, Martin Allen, James Holland, John Peterson, Garbo Mancho (Mexican), Francis Holland, and Charles Thompson.

DeWitt Clinton Harris, John W. Healer, and A. B. Dodson stopped at Vince's.

And the following joined the expedition at Lynchburg and Spilman's Island: Retson Morris, Ashmore Edwards, Edward Purkison, I. Purkison, James Spilman, John Brock, Dr. David Gallagher, and John Imes [Iiams?].

This is endorsed by Mr. Moore as "A correct list and the last."

and an election held, the result of which made Travis captain, Retson Morris, first lieutenant, and Ashmore Edwards, second lieutenant. The captain then appointed John W. Moore orderly sergeant.¹

The sloop Ohio, belonging to David Harris had been chartered at Harrisburg, and in this they all now embarked and proceeded toward Anahuac. When within about half a mile of the shore, the sloop was grounded, and Captain Travis ordered a shot to be fired by way of warning from the small cannon which they had on board, mounted on a pair of saw mill truck wheels.² The gun was then placed in one of the small boats, and they all rowed ashore, where Travis was met by a note from Tenorio asking the purpose of his visit. Travis replied that he had come to receive the surrender of the garrison. Tenorio asked that he be allowed till the next morning for consideration; but Travis informed him that he could have only one hour, and then, without waiting for the expiration of that, since it was growing dark, ordered an advance. But the Mexicans had made use of the delay to flee to the woods, and the Texans found the fort deserted. Travis soon received a message from Tenorio, however, asking for an interview on the river bank; and this being granted him, he held a council and decided, by his own account, "in view of the difficulty and uselessness of making a defense, that a capitulation should be made."³

On the next morning (June 30) the terms of the surrender were arranged. Twelve soldiers were to be allowed to retain their arms, as a protection against the Indians in their march toward Bexar, and the Mexican officers pledged themselves not to take up arms again against Texas.⁴ Captain Harris says there were forty-four Mexicans in the garrison, and that the Texan force had been increased by several accessions at Anahuac to about thirty.⁵ Travis,

¹John W. Moore's *The Capture of Anahuac*.

²Captain Harris's *Account of the Fight at Anahuac* (MS.).

³Tenorio to Ugartechea, July 7, 1835.—Bexar Archives.

⁴Tenorio to Ugartechea, July 7, 1835.—Bexar Archives. Harris's *The Fight at Anahuac*.

⁵Brown (*History of Texas*, I, 305) places the number of the Texans at twenty.

writing to Henry Smith about a week after the capitulation, says, "I received sixty-four stands of arms (muskets and bayonets)."¹

The Mexicans and the Texans returned together in the Ohio to Harrisburg, which they reached in time for a barbecue on the fourth of July. One may well imagine that Tenorio was rather glad than otherwise to be relieved of his trying duties at Anahuac; for, at the barbecue, he is said to have "walked among the people, shaking hands with the men and acting as if he was the hero of the occasion"². On the night of the fifth he attended a ball, and waltzed and talked French all the evening with Mrs. Kokernot. "He was a fine looking man"³, says Mrs Harris, and a perusal of his correspondence while he was in command at Anahuac will sustain the impression that he was by no means an unadmirable gentleman.

By July 17, Tenorio had reached San Felipe⁴; but being very kindly received by the authorities there,—Wiley Martin having superseded J. B. Miller as Political Chief—he remained some seven weeks in the hope that Ugartechea would send him horses and money with which to complete his journey to San Antonio. He arrived at Bexar about September 8.⁵

The outrage upon the Anahuac troops was condemned throughout Texas, except by the rankest of the war party⁶, which at this time was comparatively small; and though it is properly to be considered as the first act of violence in the Texas revolution, it was really the indiscreet measures of the Mexican authorities in conse-

¹QUARTERLY, II, 24.

In a report of the garrison on April 23 (*Bexar Archives*) Tenorio says that he has, in good condition: 20 muskets, 29 bayonets, 5 short carbines, 50 flints, and 300 cartridges; semi-useless: 6 muskets, 20 flints, and 90 cartridges; useless: 3 muskets and 2 carbines. But it has already been noted that, on May 1, Lieutenant Duran brought him fifty muskets and a hundred and fifty flints.

²*Reminiscences of Mrs. Dilue Harris*, QUARTERLY, IV, 125.

³*Ibid.*

⁴Tenorio to Ugartechea, July 17, 1835.—*Bexar Archives*.

⁵Ugartechea to Cos, September 8, 1835.—*Bexar Archives*.

⁶James H. C. Miller to T. J. Chambers, July 4, 1835.—*Bexar Archives*.
Kennedy: *History of Texas*, II, 92. *Texas Almanac*, 1859, 112.

quence of it which provoked all the Texans into united rebellion. Travis, indeed, found the general sentiment so strong against him that for several weeks he published a card in the *Texas Republican*, asking the people to suspend judgment concerning him until he had time to make an explanation and justification of his act. This was tardily written on September 1, and forwarded to Henry Smith at Brazoria for publication, but I believe it never appeared in print. It reads as follows:

"To the Public:

"The undersigned published a card some time since, stating that he would give the public his motives in engaging in the expedition to Anahuac which resulted in the capture of the garrison of that place on the 30th of June last. Circumstances beyond my control have hitherto prevented me from redeeming the pledge therein given. I will now do so in a few words.

"I refer the public to the following documents to shew what were my motives in that affair. At the time I started to Anahuac, it seemed to be the unanimous opinion of the people here that that place should be reduced. The citizens about Galveston Bay, who had formed a volunteer company for the purpose sent to this place for aid. The Political Chief approved the plan and presided at a meeting of about 200 persons who adopted the resolutions which appear below.

"Being highly excited by the circumstances then stated, I volunteered in that expedition, with no other motives than of patriotism and a wish to aid my suffering countrymen in the embarrassing strait to which they were likely to be reduced by military tyranny. I was casually elected the commander of the expedition, without soliciting the appointment. I discharged what I conceived to be my duty to my country to the best of my ability. Time alone will shew whether the step was correct or not. And time will shew that when this country is in danger that I will shew myself as patriotic and ready to serve her as those who to save themselves have disavowed the act and denounced me to the usurping military.

"San Felipe, September 1st, 1835.

"W. BARRETT TRAVIS."

The documents which he expected to publish with this were doubtless the proceedings of the meeting of June 22, which authorized his attack on Anahuac. I have been unable to find them.

The University of Texas, December, 1900.

SKETCH OF THE EARLY SETTLEMENT OF LEON
COUNTY, ITS ORGANIZATION, AND SOME OF
THE EARLY SETTLERS.¹

W. D. WOOD.

Leon county is situated between the Trinity and Navasota rivers, and north of the old San Antonio road. It is bounded on the south by the San Antonio road and Madison county; on the west by the Navasota river and Brazos, Robertson, and Limestone counties; on the north by Limestone, Freestone, and Anderson counties; on the east by the Trinity river and Anderson and Houston counties. Its area is about 1049 square miles.

So far as is now known the first permanent settlers of the county were the Kickapoo and Keechi tribes of Indians. When the Americans first became acquainted with the territory of Leon, the Kickapoos had a permanent village or encampment on the west bank of the Trinity, at a place now known as the Kickapoo shoals. The village was located on land now included in an eleven league grant, made to Ramon de la Garza May 7, 1831. When the country was first known to the writer, which was in 1851, every vestige of the Indian town had disappeared, and there was nothing to indicate that the spot had ever been the seat of a red man's village—that his council house and wigwam had been there, and that there, on his return from a successful foray, he exhibited his scalps and celebrated with barbaric orgies his prowess as a warrior and his triumph over his enemies. Corn and cotton fields now occupy the site of the village, and the peaceful evidences of thrift and civilization are substituted for the war dance. Could the shade of a departed Kickapoo be permitted to visit the scenes of the flesh, he would find naught to remind him of his former home but the river and the water brawling over the rocky shoals. All else is blotted out.

The Keechi tribe had a village on what is now the Ramirez league of land, about two and a half miles north of the present town of Centreville. This village had an ideal location, and cer-

¹The sources of information from which this sketch has been compiled are a History of Navarro, Leon and other Counties kindly lent the writer by William Croft, Esq., of Corsicana, and conversations had with many of the pioneers of Leon county in the early fifties.

tainly demonstrated that, notwithstanding the Keechis were most inveterate thieves and beggars, they had an eye to beauty of locality, and an appreciation of a soil that would produce most bountifully the favorite Indian crop of corn and beans. The village was situate near the hills on the upper edge of a bottom prairie that extended down to near the lower or Little Keechi creek. Fine springs furnished an ample supply of the purest water. The soil of the prairie was exceedingly fertile, on which grew the richest grapes, variegated with an almost endless variety of the loveliest wild flowers. The land on which the village was situated is now a farm, and the plow share occasionally turns up an old gun barrel or some other evidence of Indian occupation. Even as late as 1851, when the writer first saw the place, there was to be seen some evidences of the rude Indian cultivation of a portion of the prairie contiguous to the village.

When the Americans first crossed the Trinity in 1831 and commenced to survey and locate land in the territory of what is now Leon, the Indians viewed with the greatest curiosity the surveyor and his instruments. They looked upon him and his assistants as intruders and thieves, engaged in the theft of the land which had been theirs and their hunting ground from time immemorial; and, the surveyor's compass being the instrument by means of which the theft was accomplished, they called it "the land stealer."

Fort Parker was located in what is now Limestone county, between the site of the old town of Springfield and the present town of Groesbeck. After the massacre at this fort in 1833, the few settlers that were between the Brazos and Trinity and north of the San Antonio road, all fled for safety east of the Trinity river, and there is no evidence that there was any permanent settler located in what is now Leon prior to 1839 or 1840.

In 1836, the San Antonio road, which was the southern boundary of the county when first organized, from the crossing on the Navasota river to Robbin's Ferry on the Trinity, was thronged and choked with men, women and children fleeing from the settlements on the Brazos and Colorado, before the advance of the army of Santa Anna. These fugitives were terror stricken, some on foot, some on horseback, and others with any sort of conveyance they could at the moment press into service. They seemed to be moved by only one impulse, and that was to reach the Sabine and the terri-

tory of the United States, where they would be safe from Mexican pursuit. But during their headlong flight, and before many of them had crossed the Trinity, the news of the battle of San Jacinto, the defeat of the Mexican army, and the capture of Santa Anna, reached them. This stopped their flight, and they at once faced about and returned to their respective homes. This escapade was called by the old Texans, "the Runaway Scrape."¹ At this time, early in 1836, says one who met the crowd of refugees on the old road, between the Navasota and Trinity, there was not a single settler within the present limits of Leon county.

The Kickapoo and Keechi Indians had the reputation of being great thieves, especially the Keechis. Shortly after the Americans crossed the Trinity and commenced the surveying and locating of land, the Kickapoos abandoned the territory of Leon, going west towards the Rio Grande, and in that section, in connection with the Lipan Indians, gave the early western settlers much trouble. The location of land in the eastern and central portions of Leon caused the Keechi Indians to remove their village from Keechi creek to the Navasota river, in the western portion of the county. These Indians made great professions of friendship for the whites, but were constantly engaged in thieving expeditions, and when charged with their thefts would assert their innocence and lay the blame on other Indians. These depredations became insupportable, and in 1835 an expedition was organized, under a Colonel Coleman, who drove them out of the territory of Leon and chased them to the head waters of the Trinity, and the Keechis were no more heard of in the territory they had so long inhabited. It seems that their existence as a separate tribe soon afterwards ceased, and their identity was lost by absorption with other tribes.

In 1839, there was organized a company of rangers or minute men to protect such settlements as might be made north of the San Antonio road, and between the Navasota and Brazos rivers. Captain Chandler had charge of this organization, and its headquarters was at Old Franklin in what has since become Robertson county. About the time of this organization at Old Franklin, John Karnes, the Middletons, the Burnses, the Taylors, Irwin and three of his sons, the Stateys, and several others organized a minute company under Captain Greer, with headquarters an Boggy creek, the object

¹See *The Reminiscences of Mrs. Dilue Harris*, in this number.

of which was to protect settlers in the territory of Leon between the Navasota and Trinity. This company of minute men built a blockhouse on the north bank of Boggy creek, about two and a half miles north of the present town of Leona, and about five miles south of Centreville. The blockhouse was built two stories high, the upper story extending over and beyond the walls of the lower story, so that those in the fort could shoot any person coming near the walls of the lower story. This blockhouse was called Fort Boggy, and not many years since its remains were still to be seen. The organization of the company of minute men and the building of this fort, and the formation of a like company at Old Franklin, inspired confidence, and soon settlers with their families commenced coming into the territory of Leon. The first settlements were made around the Fort, about where Leona now stands, on the Leon prairie and on the San Antonio road, in what is now known as Rogers' prairie.

During the years 1840-41 quite a number of men with their families settled round Boggy Fort, among whom were the Greers, the Middletons, the Burnses, the Taylors, the Patricks, the Stateys, and some others. About the same time the Rogerses, the Ewings, and the Rileys settled on the line of the San Antonio road west of the Leon prairie. Somewhat later in the forties came Major John Durst, Henry J. Jewett, James Fowler, William Evans, Onesimus Evans, Riley and William Wallace, the Marshalls, the Kings, E. Whitton, Sam Davis, Thomas H. Garner, McKay Ball, Dr. A. D. Boggs, Moses Campbell, William Pruitt, Thomas Thorn, P. M. Sherman, D. C. Carrington, J. J. McBride, John J. Goodman, William Little and many others. Some of these settled on Boggy near the fort, some round Leona, some on lower Keechi creek, and some round the Leon prairie and along the San Antonio road. Moses Campbell opened the first store in the county at Fort Boggy, and Riley Wallace built the first grist mill on Boggy creek near the fort and was the first postmaster in the county. Thomas H. Garner built the first saw mill in the county on a spring branch, a tributary of Beaver Dam creek. Elisha Whitton, at a very early day, built a grist mill on lower Keechi, not far above where it empties into the Trinity, and near the town of Cairo, a steamboat landing on Trinity, established by the Rogerses and Captain Chandler. Colonel Alexander Patrick landed with his family at Cairo in 1841. The town of Navarro in the northern part of the county was located

in the early forties as a steamboat landing by Captain J. J. McBride, John J. Goodman, and William Little. These two towns, at quite an early day, did a large business in the way of distributing supplies brought by the steamboats to the country back from the river, and as shipping points for such products as the country had to sell. The sites of both of these towns are now cotton and corn fields, the towns having been destroyed by the advent of the railroads.

Subsequent to the expulsion of the Keechis and Kickapoos from the territory of Leon, there was no more permanent occupation by any Indian tribe, but after the white settlers commenced coming in the Indians made occasional incursions into the settlements for the purpose of stealing stock. Robert and Stephen Rogers had settled in Rogers' prairie on the San Antonio road, and in 1841 the son of Stephen was killed by the Indians. Young Rogers was bathing in a pool of water near his fathers residence when he was suddenly set upon by a gang of Indians. He attempted to escape to the house, but was cut off and killed. About the same time Captain Greer, who had charge at Fort Boggy, accompanied by two or three companions went on a prospecting tour to the upper Keechi creek in the northern part of the county. While they were on a prairie bordering the creek, a band of ten or twelve Indians, mounted on horses, rushed out from a line of timber along the margin of the creek, yelling and brandishing their weapons, and charged Greer and his companions, who at once put spurs to their horses, hoping to reach the hills and timber where they would have some chance for a successful defence. Captain Greer, however, being poorly mounted, fell behind, and was overtaken in the prairie and shot to death by arrows. His companions succeeded in making their escape. They made their way back to Fort Boggy and securing assistance at the fort returned the next day for the body of Captain Greer, which they found near the spot where he was overtaken by the Indians. Greer and young Rogers were the only white men known to be killed by Indians in the territory of Leon county.

The San Antonio road, which was the southern boundary of the county, was the artery of travel between San Antonio in the west, Nacogdoches in the east, and all intermediate settlements. In the early days it was simply a trail for pack mules. They traveled one behind another, and from the abrasion of their feet, all in the same

track, the road was a mere trench. The old Spaniards who located this road from San Antonio to Nacogdoches, if not engineers by education, were such by dint of native genius. They selected the best crossings on the streams and the best ground, avoided the hills and sandy stretches, and at the same time economized distance. The road from the Navasota to the Trinity passes over firm ground, prairies and timber alternating, missing heavy sand on either side, with convenient water holes along the entire distance.

Large caravans of pack mules loaded with silver passed over this road, between San Antonio and Nacogdoches, some two or three times a year. There is a tradition that one of these caravans, heavily loaded with treasure, camped one night between the Navasota and the Trinity. During the night they were attacked by Indians, and in order to save the treasure they threw the bags of silver into an adjacent lake. After a stout defence the *cargadores* were overpowered and all of them murdered by the Indians except three, who succeeded in making their escape and getting back to San Antonio. Years afterwards, it is said one of the three that escaped the massacre returned to see if he could not locate the spot and find the lost treasure; but such were the changes that time had wrought in the features of the country and the road, that his efforts were in vain, and he abandoned the search in disgust. Before he left the neighborhood, however, he told his story to some of the settlers, who had faith enough in its truth to search and drag all of the water holes on either side of the road from the Navasota to the Trinity, but they found none of the treasure; or, if they did, they took care never to let it be known. Occasional coins have been picked up in this region along the line of the road, mute evidence of the treasure that was carried by *cargadores* over this old "King's Highway."

By 18— the accession of population in the territory now included in Leon county had been such that McKay Ball, then a resident of Fort Boggy and member of the State legislature from the territory comprising at that time Robertson county, introduced a bill into the legislature for the organization of Leon county out of a part of the territory then included in Robertson. The bill passed, and the county was organized. Mr. Ball suggested the name Leon for the county, and Leona for the county seat. The location of this place was about one mile north of Leon prairie and some three miles from the San Antonio road. The name of the prairie suggested

that of the county, and the prairie received its name from the fact that in very early times a large Mexican lion was killed there.

The first court held in the county of Leon was opened at Leona, on the 12th day of October, 1846. That friend of education and able jurist, R. E. B. Baylor, was the presiding judge. Thomas Johnson was district attorney, William Keigwin district clerk, and W. B. Middleton sheriff. The other county officers were I. P. Reinhardt, county clerk; and David M. Brown, chief justice. Onesimus Evans was foreman of the grand jury. Only two indictments were returned at this term of the court.

Population from the San Antonio road, round Leona and Fort Boggy, gradually diffused itself over the territory of the county. By 1849 complaints began to be heard from the settlers that Leona, the county seat, was on one edge of the county and for that reason inconvenient of access to a large part of the population, and that the county seat for the convenience of the people should be near the territorial center. The result was an election to decide the matter. The spot where Centreville now stands—within a radius of five miles of the territorial center—and Leona were the contesting localities. After a warm and spirited canvass, Centreville was selected, and the county seat removed there in 1850, where it has since remained.

Leon county has the honor of having located within its boundaries the headright league and labor of that unique personality, R. M. Williamson, better known as "Three-legged Willie." It is on the west bank of the Trinity, opposite the old Alabama crossing of that stream.

The early annals of Leon county bear no record of the occurrence, on its soil, of any great historic event of such supreme importance as to become a notable factor in the shaping of the destiny of Texas. While there is in its borders no spot of ground that has been made classic or hallowed by its historical associations, yet from the date of its earliest settlement by Americans in 1839 or 1840, its people have done their whole duty in the settlement and development of Texas, both as soldiers and as civilians. Leon county feels a just pride in those of her early settlers who assisted in laying the foundations of the State.

Henry J. Jewett, one of the early settlers of Leon, attended as a member of the bar the first court held in the county. He was a

man of strong intellectuality, a finished scholar, and learned lawyer. When the thirteenth judicial district was organized in 1852 or 1853, leaving Judge Baylor out of the new thirteenth, Jewett was elected judge and served the people of the district as such most acceptably up to a short time before the breaking out of the Civil War, when he was defeated by John Gregg, who was then a rising young lawyer of Freestone county. On the breaking out of the war Judge Gregg resigned his judgeship and went into the army, where he soon rose to the rank of brigadier general and was killed in Virginia at the head of his brigade. Judge Jewett was a candidate to fill the vacant judgeship and was elected. He served a short time, when his mind became so deranged as to wholly disqualify him for discharging the duties of the office, and he was compelled to resign. He never recovered, but wandered away from his home in Leon, during the Civil War, and at its close he was in Matamoras, Mexico. From there, by some means, he got to the city of New York, where he was placed in the lunatic asylum on Blackwell's Island. By some means he effected his escape from the asylum and drowned himself in the North river. Such was the melancholy end of one of the many bright men that adorned the early period of Texas history and did so much towards the formation of its laws and its system of jurisprudence.

Judge Jewett had been private secretary of President Lamar during his administration. He left a widow and children, who, when the writer last heard from them, resided in Robertson county, Texas.

William B. Middleton was one of the earliest settlers of Leon county. He was a native of Illinois and came to Texas when a boy. He helped to build Fort Boggy in 1839 or 1840, and was a member of the minute company organized at the fort to guard against the incursions of the Indians and render the settlement of the territory of Leon county by the Americans possible. Middleton was a volunteer in the unfortunate Meir expedition and was captured by the Mexicans. Like his fellow prisoners, he had to stake his life on the drawing of a bean, but fortune favored him. He was carried to the City of Mexico and there placed upon the public works, starved, beaten, and subjected to every conceivable indignity. Thanks, however, to a robust constitution, he survived the hardships of his imprisonment, and with his fellow prisoners was finally liberated

through the intercession of the authorities of the United States. He returned to his home in Leon county, where the people elected him to the office of sheriff at the first election after the organization of the county. He represented the county several times in the Legislature, and was its representative when the States seceded from the Union. During the war he was a brigadier general of militia. After the war he was again elected sheriff of the county, and was holding that office at the time of his death. No man did more towards the settlement and building up of Leon county than he, and no man ever lived in the county who had a greater popularity. He was social, kind, genial and charitable. At his hospitable home the latch string always hung on the outside of the door. Every one that knew him loved him. He died of pneumonia, as the writer remembers, in 1878, leaving no descendants.

One of the noted men and early pioneers of Leon county was Maj. John Durst. He did much to bring into notice and cause the settlement of the territory of Leon. He was a native of Arkansas county, Missouri. Left an orphan on his own resources at an early age, he wandered to New Orleans, and was there taken under the protection of Major Davenport, who was one of a company that had established at Nacogdoches a mercantile house and did an extensive trade with the Mexicans and Indians. Major Davenport discovered in the boy Durst the material out of which men are made. He took him in charge, educated him in a business way, taught him the Spanish language, and finally sent him to Nacogdoches. Young Durst was soon placed in charge of the entire business of the company at that place, which he conducted most successfully, and to the entire satisfaction of the company. He was the first American resident in Nacogdoches, having located there in 1823. Prior to this, when quite a boy, Durst had been sent by the company to the city of Monclova with business dispatches, which long and dangerous journey he satisfactorily performed. When Texas and Coahuila had been formed into a State, Major Durst was elected one of the delegates to the State legislature which held its sessions at the city of Monclova. From Nacogdoches to the capital of the State was 960 miles, through a wilderness, and he made the journey on horseback.

Major Durst located in Leon county in the early forties, buying a tract of land of 2000 acres, situated near the present site of the

town of Leona, and lying between Boggy creek and Leon Prairie. He purchased this land from Allen Dimery, a free negro. Before he removed to Leon, he resided in Nacogdoches county, on the Angelina river in a large house protected by blockhouses. He was the owner of a number of slaves, and he opened a farm on the Dimery tract of land and built a large rock house. The Durst homestead was famous far and wide for its hospitality, and for being general headquarters for the newcomer and the traveler. In 1821 Major Durst married Miss Harriet M. Jameson, daughter of John Jameson, an officer in the United States army. Mrs. Durst was a native of Virginia, born near Harper's Ferry. She was an excellent woman, possessing in an eminent degree all the qualities that adorn and ennoble womanhood. Major and Mrs. Durst both died in Leon county at the old Dimery homestead. Major Durst was an important figure in the early affairs of Texas, and in the settlement and development of Leon county.

On the 14th day of November, 1851, I arrived in Centreville, the county seat of Leon. The town was then one year old, the county seat having been removed from Loud the year before. At the time of my arrival there were in the county, perhaps, some 200 or 250 voters. The country was new, and game was abundant. The uplands were covered with sage and other grasses from two to four feet high. The glades and bottom lands were set with a luxuriant growth of gramma grass so high that when a deer entered it his course could be followed by the opening of the grass, and occasionally his head and ears could be seen as he leaped along. The creek and river bottoms were filled with a dense growth of cane, from ten to fifteen feet high. The range was fine for cattle, horses and hogs, winter and summer. Hogs fed on the acorns of the post oak, overcup oak, red oak, water oak and black-jack and the various native grapes, and needed no attention, except now and then feeding them a little corn to keep them gentle. Cattle and horses kept fat winter and summer on the range. In the fall, the first norther would send the cattle to the bottoms among the cane brakes, where, feeding on the switch cane, they would come out in the spring fat and sleek. Pork in the fall was worth a cent and a half per pound, and beef was to be had at the buyer's own price.

A feeling of social and neighborly kindness pervaded the entire

community. The advent of a newcomer was the signal of universal rejoicing in the neighborhood. All of the neighbors vied with each other in their acts of kindness and hospitality towards him. If he needed beef, he was informed by each old settler as to his mark and brand, and told to go amongst his cattle and make his own selection free of charge. The old settler's corn crib was open to the wants of the newly arrived. Everybody seemed to enjoy life. There were no social distinctions, other than those which were based on integrity and merit. All honest, industrious people met on a common plane. Merit and worth was received and welcomed everywhere. Locks and keys were not needed. All kept open house. The visitor, whether stranger or neighbor, on his arrival was welcomed with hearty and sincere hospitality. The coffee pot was always on the fire, and the guest soon after his arrival was invited to partake of its contents. If he was a stranger, he was bidden to make himself at home and stay a week, and when business or inclination urged his departure he was earnestly requested to call again.

There was among the people no party or political discords. The spirit that ruled the settlers was the desire to settle and upbuild the country. There were in the early fifties no primaries nor conventions for the nomination of candidates for office. Men became candidates of their own volition, or at the solicitation of personal friends, ran on their own merits and not on the demerits of others, and were elected because of their fitness for the office they aspired to.

Such was the sentiment among the early settlers of Texas. They were men who bravely confronted all of the dangers, hardships and discomforts of a newly settled country, conquered the wilderness and laid the foundation deep and strong for the future prosperity, glory and greatness of the State. These early pioneers of Texas not only had to suffer the discomforts of a new and sparsely settled country, but in addition took their lives in their hands in combat with the thieving and bloodthirsty savage. The names and deeds of these pioneers should be treasured in grateful remembrance by us, who now enjoy the fruits of what they so nobly planted in discomfort, toil and danger.

In the early fifties the means of travel and transportation in Texas were of the most primitive and limited character. Everybody, men and women as well, rode horseback. Carriages and buggies

were almost unknown. The supply of goods and groceries for Leon county was obtained for the most part from Houston and Galveston. Steamboats navigated the Trinity river during the winter and spring, brought up supplies and carried off the produce of the country. During the low water season, wagons drawn by from four to six yoke of oxen hauled the cotton to Houston and brought back the necessary supplies. These land ships would often be six weeks in making the round trip from Centreville to Houston and back. Time was no special object. People then lived slow, compared with those of the present fast age. They were in no hurry to make money and get rich, and did not live by steam and electricity. Kerosene was unknown, and the saucer lamp and the tallow dip were the illuminants in those days. Wherever night overtook the teamster he stopped, unyoked his oxen, and hobbled them and turned them out into nature's pasture to feed on the nutritious grass that grew everywhere. He built his camp fire, cooked and ate his frugal supper, and slept on his blanket under his wagon. In the morning he awoke early, recruited his fire, cooked and ate his breakfast, gathered and yoked up his oxen, and pursued his journey and as he moved on, his cheerful song kept time to the rifle-like report of his long whip. In those days, the teamster was a lord. Kings might well envy him in his high state of content and satisfaction.

Much of the cultivation was done with oxen. The farmer would plow one yoke from morning to noon, then turn these out upon the grass and yoke up another pair for the afternoon's plowing.

In those days, every traveler carried his water-gourd, his stake rope, coffee pot, provision wallet and blanket, and should night overtake him with no house in sight, he dismounted, staked his horse, built his fire, cooked and ate his meal, spread his blanket under the stars, and slept the sleep of the contented.

Such were the manners, customs, and surroundings of the people when the writer came to Texas, in 1851. While they did not enjoy the advantages and privileges of these modern days, yet they enjoyed more real pleasures, were better contented and were in close contact with life on natural lines than we in these rushing, struggling, discontented times. The lives of the people then moved along the ways of Arcadian simplicity. There was no complaint of trusts, no strikes, no contention between employer and employe,

no demand for legislation favoring one class at the expense of another, no war on capital, no ambitious struggle for social distinction, riches, power or place. Content and good feeling among the people was universal.

Nor were the people in the early fifties unmindful or neglectful of education, morality, or religion. In the village of Centreville, when the writer arrived there, they had a well ordered and well attended school, taught first by an educated gentleman from Scotland, and afterwards by a college graduate from New England. The church of the village was one of the first houses erected. While the Baptist denomination preponderated in the neighborhood, at the time, the church was open to all denominations. Once a month a good and truly pious old Baptist minister, by the name of Coker, who lived in the upper end of the county, some twenty-five miles from Centreville, mounted his horse and came down to minister to the spiritual wants of the village and vicinity, without fee or charge. He was a minister of the olden time whose only ambition was to faithfully serve his Lord and Master and save sinners. I can now hear, ringing in memory's chambers, his fervent petitions, in which he invoked *all of the blessings* upon the little town of Centreville, and the "invincinity thereof." In the honest simplicity of his soul, he would often thank the Lord that "he was sent all the way from Alabama to preach to the heathen here in Texas." Such was the good old man Coker, long since gathered to his father's and gone up to receive the crown of an honest, faithful, well-spent life.

In this same little church in those early days, another good and pious Baptist brother, used occasionally to hold forth. He, too, was one of those old-fashioned sort, by the name of Jones (but that was not his name), that delivered his sermons in a chant or sing-song tone. In fact, the first sentence of this brother was pitched on the sing-song key, which he kept up to the end of the sermon. He, too, was an honest, conscientious man, who tried with all of his might to serve the Lord and his fellows. His was an impetuous nature, and he was liable to be carried off his feet by the impulse of the moment. He fully realized that human nature was weak and beset by many temptations. He candidly admitted that of these temptations to him the most alluring and those against which he had fiercest battles all his life, to prevent their diverting

his feet from the straight and narrow path, were women, wine and horses. While he worshipped the very ground on which a lady walked, loved a race horse, and had a natural inclination for the wine that was red, he fought the good fight and came out the victor. He, too, has long since crossed the river and gone up to receive the reward of a Christian life spent in the service of his Master and his fellow man.

There was another preacher, the Methodist circuit rider, Parson Wright, who preached in the village church during his monthly round. The writer heard him preach first in December, 1851, in a little log school house, with puncheon floor and split log benches, located in the woods, about five miles from Centreville. His congregation consisted of a dozen or more, and the surroundings were of the most primitive character, but these things had no effect on the man. The expression of his face, his tone, and his manner impressed his hearers with the absolute conviction that soul and body he was a soldier of King Emanuel, whose hope and aim was to uphold the banner of righteousness.

The work of this good man, in that early day, was not one of ease or profit. His circuit comprised some half dozen counties. His appointments were so scattered and so far apart, that to preach at each once a month, necessitated constant travel. He traveled horseback, with Bible, hymn book, blanket and saddle-bags, and change of linen, when he was so fortunate as to have a change. He was exposed to all the vicissitudes of the seasons, and he had often to swim swollen streams, at the risk of his life, in order to meet his congregations. He cheerfully submitted to all this toil and discomfort, never uttering a word of complaint. He was a God-fearing, pious and exemplary Christian man. He, too, has been dead for many years. He never had an enemy, and his death was sincerely mourned by all who knew him.

The men here mentioned are but examples of the many and faithful ministers that labored in early Texas. While many of them were neither college-bred nor graduates of any theological seminary, they were honest, pious and God-fearing men, who by their sincerity and zeal set an example before their fellow man worthy of all acceptance, which exercised an irresistible influence for good.

Such were the preachers in Texas in the early fifties, who in the

face of danger and appalling hardships laid the foundation on which has been built the virtue, morality and religious sentiment that characterizes the great mass of the people of Texas at this day. In consideration of the beneficent and civilizing results of their efforts it is but just that they should be remembered. Their work is an essential part of the history of Texas.

THE FIRST PERIOD OF THE GUTIERREZ-MAGEE EXPEDITION.

WALTER FLAVIUS M'CALEB.

The Gutierrez-Magee episode marks an interesting point not only in the history of Texas, but in that of the whole Southwest. In a way it has a national interest, for after the movement in question, Texas was never again Spanish, and its admission into the Union was only a question of time. Apart from the political significance of the undertaking, this irruption of Americans into the Spanish territories was, to a certain extent, an unconscious manifestation of the spirit of aggression, the spirit of expansion, which has at various times dominated the actions of the American people. Perhaps the most notable instances of this are seen in the Mexican war and the recent outburst against Spain. These were national in their larger aspects; but the germs of both lie beyond the Gutierrez-Magee expedition, and had a common origin. The animosity which had grown up in the United States towards Spain before the close of the eighteenth century lies at the bottom of these troubles. The causes for the development of this antagonism must be sought in the physical growth of this country measured in terms of Anglo-Saxon aggressiveness and rationalism,—Spanish intrigue and suspicion— or liberalism versus inquisition. www.11

Strangely enough, our accredited historians, with few exceptions, have failed to grasp the real significance of this page of American history. Most of those of eminence who have written have treated it as growing, in the main, out of the selfishness of the Southern slave owner; the other elements involved, in their opinion, were not of vital import. But when the true story is told, the tablets of stone will be broken and the iniquitous evil of writing with preconceived ideas, with partisanship tinged with malice, will once more have been put to shame.

In the long chain of events, or series of waves, which led up to these climaxes, the Gutierrez-Magee enterprise occupies an important place. It had been preceded by the Kemper raid, the Miranda Expedition, the Aaron Burr Conspiracy, and the overwhelming of

West Florida. These served as temporary vents, and are important as exemplifying the spirit working in the people. They were all aggressive, and aimed at Spain. Only one, however, the last, produced a real change in the relative situation of things. It was for Gutierrez and Magee to marshal the forces which had followed Burr and which had overthrown the Spanish regime in West Florida for yet another advance.

When the revolution broke out in Mexico in 1810, the leaders were not unaware of the sympathy which the great mass of the inhabitants of the new American republic bore them. Miranda's expedition against the Spaniards in Venezuela had taught the patriotic Mexicans that support was to be expected, while Aaron Burr in his conspiracy had brought the matter nearer to them through his emissaries. So, when disaster had fallen terribly on the arms of the revolutionists, when Hidalgo had been driven from Guadalajara, when his army had become demoralized and his retreat a flight, he headed with the remnant of his forces towards Texas, giving it out that perhaps already the Anglo-Americans were on their way to bring succor to his cause.

In March, 1811, only a few days before the heroic Cura with his generals and fragment of an army were treacherously betrayed at the Norias de Bajan, José Bernardo Gutierrez (sometimes Guterrez de Lara) was made a lieutenant-colonel, and commissioned to proceed to the United States to solicit aid for the struggling patriots. Nothing daunted by the calamity which had overtaken the leaders of the rebellion, and spurred, some have written, by the news of the execution of his brother along with other so-called traitors, he made his way into Texas, which he found in a state of rebellion, and from thence to Washington.

It will be recalled that January 22, 1811, the garrison and the inhabitants of San Antonio de Bexar raised the standard of revolt, took Governor Manuel de Salcedo, Simon de Herrera, and others prisoners—whose heads were later to stain the pikes of the men of Gutierrez—and declared for the republic. This enabled Gutierrez to pass on his journey unmolested. In Washington, however, he received no official recognition,¹ and soon returned South.

¹Vicente Filisola: *Memorias para la Historia de la Guerra de Tejas*, I, 49.

Early in the year 1812 he appeared at Natchitoches, the old frontier fort, which, for more than a century, stood over against the Spaniards in Nacogdoches, and opened communication with the adventurers, modern robber knights, who had taken charge of the Neutral Ground. Lieutenant Augustus W. Magee, who was stationed at Natchitoches for the purpose of looking after the freebooters, who helped themselves to whatever property they found within the bounds of the Sabine and Arroyo Hondo, fell under the influence of the revolutionist. The reports of Gutierrez as to the internal condition of the province of Texas and Mexico, the hope of booty, and the certainty of success, won over many to his schemes. In spite of the war which now broke out with Great Britain, recruits came from Kentucky, Tennessee, Mississippi and Louisiana, while the Neutral Ground disgorged a swarm of adventurers.¹

As early as April 6, the Spaniards at Bayou Pierre, which lies to the east of the Sabine near the old mission site of Adaes, had notice of the arrival of Gutierrez on the frontier. On that day Marzelo de Zoto, justice of the peace, reported to Montero, the commander of Nacogdoches, that Bernardo Gutierrez had arrived at Natchitoches in company with an officer, that he brought many recommendations, and that it was whispered he was engaged in some

¹It may not be amiss to trace in a word the history of the Neutral Ground. The fall of 1806 found the United States and Spain all but at war because of many disputes, chief of which arose over the Louisiana boundary. Their armies were marched to the frontier. There, November 5, 1806, on the basis of a proposition made by James Wilkinson, general of the army of the United States, Simon de Herrera, governor of Nuevo Leon, agreed to make neutral the land lying between the Sabine and the Arroyo Hondo. This was a considerable area varying from thirty to fifty miles in width and extending from near Natchitoches to the gulf. As no authority was exercised in that region it was soon occupied by men who respected no law. The after history of this robbers' nest, bad as it is, does not surpass in point of lawlessness or immorality the conduct of the man at the time he made its existence possible. This Neutral Ground strip, the recognition of which waived our claim to Texas, which was conceded to the Spaniards to pacify them in order that Wilkinson might send an expedition to Mexico to demand a large sum of money for his services in defeating Aaron Burr, continued to give trouble down to the treaty of 1819.

treacherous plot.¹ Less than a month later, Felix Trudeau, consul at Natchitoches and Spanish spy, of whom we hear much during these years, wrote Montero:²

"Bernardo Gutierrez has returned here from the United States, and with him is an American who seems to be of much importance. It is reported that his intentions are to seek every means to revolutionize the Internal Provinces."

These notices had the expected effect on the commander of the Spanish garrison at Nacogdoches. May 12 he dispatched to the governor of Texas, Manuel de Salcedo, who had been restored to power in the preceding fall, the notices he had of threatened troubles, among which were Indian raids and the circulation of seditious papers.³ A few days later Trudeau wrote in a positive tone that nothing was to be left undone to accomplish the revolutionizing of the Internal Provinces. A printing press had been set up, which, of course, meant that incendiary documents were to be scattered broadcast.⁴ And sure enough, Montero had not long to wait before his suspicions were verified. June 27 he wrote the governor that three of his soldiers had captured the deserter, José Banegas, and with him forty pamphlets entitled *El Amigo de los Hombres* (*The Friend of Man*). There were, besides other documents, all of which bore the name of the "traitor, Bernardo Gutierrez."⁵

June 2, Salcedo detailed the situation to the viceroy, enclosing copies of the letters he had received from the frontier. He referred to Gutierrez as the *Embajador de Rayon*.⁶ But the affair became

¹Marzelo de Zoto to Bernardino Montero, April 6, 1812; MS. *Operaciones de Guerra* (Manuel de Salcedo) I. f. 64; Mexican Archives.

²Felix Trudeau to Montero, May 3, 1812; MS. *Operaciones de Guerra* (Manuel de Salcedo) I. f. 63; Mexican Archives.

³Montero to Manuel de Salcedo, May 12, 1812; MS. *Operaciones de Guerra* (Manuel de Salcedo) I. f. 126; Mexican Archives.

⁴Trudeau to Montero, May 23, 1812; MS. Case 17, No. 580; Archives State of Texas.

⁵Montero to Salcedo, June 27, 1812; MS. *Operaciones de Guerra* (Manuel de Salcedo) I. f. 182; Mexican Archives.

⁶Salcedo to Viceroy, June 2, 1812; MS. *Operaciones de Guerra* (Manuel de Salcedo) I. f. 58; Mexican Archives.

more alarming, and under date of the twenty-fifth he wrote the central government:¹

"I do not know how I can sufficiently impress upon your excellency the necessity of sending officers with Spanish (*españoles*) troops to be distributed in various parts, and to be empowered with the necessary functions to extinguish the fire of rebellion which smoulders in the villages to the north and their environs."

During the course of the summer the Americans continued their preparations. "Proposals were published, in the name of Don Bernardo Guterrez, for raising the 'Republican Army of the North.'" Yoakum² goes on to say that "The publication promised to each volunteer forty dollars per month, and a league of land to be assigned him within the boundaries of the new republic." There is evident confusion of objects and purposes. The men who rallied to the standard which was hoisted within the Neutral Ground came from various motives. There were some who expected to see a new republic set up; some who longed for the excitement of war and adventure; some for the gold they expected to find somewhere out in the Spanish domain; finally, there were many who indulged real sentiment over the war for Mexican liberty, who were eager to strike a blow at the enemy who had vexed them with harsh laws, who had so long thwarted their enterprises and stayed their advance into lands which seemed by right or purchase to belong to them. Nor was this all—this same enemy stood with his foot on the neck of the Aztec!

The greater part of the summer was spent in gathering provisions under the supervision of Colonel Davenport, who had been a long time Indian agent in that quarter, and in mustering recruits. At last, however, in August an advance was made. The Spaniards had taken post at the Sabine with the expectation of disputing its passage; but they were outflanked and forced to retreat to Nacogdoches. Montero goes on in his report of the affair to the governor³ to say that after having been forced to retire, he left a patrol of

¹Salcedo to Viceroy, June 25, 1812; MS. *Operaciones de Guerra* (Manuel de Salcedo) I. f. 171; Mexican Archives.

²Yoakum: *History of Texas*, I. 154.

³Montero to Salcedo, August 12, 1812; MS. Archives State of Texas.

twenty men at Attoyac under the command of Gonzales for the purpose of watching the further movements of the enemy. At dawn the next day, August 11, an assault was made while they were at their matins, and only the sentinel escaped to bear the news to Nacogdoches. He (Montero) at once sounded the alarm, but not a citizen came to aid in the defense of the old Spanish outpost. On the other hand, the town seemed happy, while the troops were depressed and indifferent. At the approach of the Americans confusion and consternation possessed the Spaniards, and they fled precipitately in squads or singly, as it happened. Only ten rode with Montero towards the Trinity, a distance of eighty miles, which place was reached next day, and there the first halt was made. From this point Montero recounted his ill fortune.¹

Five days later, August 17, the messenger reached San Antonio de Bexar, the capital of the province of Texas, with the alarming dispatches.

The governor wrote at once to Lieutenant-Colonel Bustamante:²

"I have this moment received word, under date of the 12th, from the commander of Nacogdoches, who finds himself withdrawn to the Trinity with part of his officers and troops. He reports that the Americans occupied Nacogdoches on the eleventh, the place having been abandoned because of the superiority of the American forces. Thus the dreaded day has arrived in which I see the ominous standard of revolt unfurled in that part of the kingdom."

The same day Salcedo sent an appeal to the viceroy for reinforcements:

"With one thousand of the troops recently arrived from Spain at Matagorda I shall free this kingdom within a month of a new and more formidable insurrection than the past one.³ . . . The people, incautious on the one hand and hallucinated on the other, embrace with readiness the sedition. The Americans say they have not come to do harm to the inhabitants of this kingdom, but to aid them in securing their independence. Unfortunately, our people do

¹It will be noted at once that this account of the advance of the Americans varies from the generally accepted one. Yoakum (I. 154-55) places the time in June rather than August, but from the evidence it appears that he has fallen into an error, which those who have followed him have failed to correct.

²Salcedo to Bustamante, August 17, 1812; MS. *Operaciones de Guerra* (Manuel de Salcedo) I. f. 188; Mexican Archives.

³The revolution in January, 1811.

not know the poison and hypocrisy of our enemies; do not realize that they are working under the pretext of succoring them to conquer our provinces little by little. In the end the natives cannot rid themselves of the Americans; then they will arouse from their lethargy. While I am waiting for the reinforcements I have asked. . . . I shall do all in my power to expel the invaders, if the troops of this garrison remain faithful."¹

This exposition of the situation by a high Spanish official is not without its interest. We have been accustomed to look upon that important era of transition only through American eyes—here we have a view through the eyes of a Spaniard. In this letter race differences and institutional peculiarities crop out. The one phrase, our people, *los nuestros*, tells a long story. It indicates the wide divergence in the political thinking of the two races that now for the first time contest, at the point of the bayonet, for supremacy in one quarter of the Western Hemisphere. Indeed, the warning uttered concerning the object of the invaders recalls a letter of Jefferson to A. Stewart in which he spoke of a time when the Americans would win the Spanish territories bit by bit. And this was, in truth, the beginning of the fulfillment of the prophesy.

August 21, Salcedo ordered Montero, who it will be remembered had taken post at the Trinity, to march to his capital, San Antonio de Bexar. The former commander of Nacogdoches was to bring with him what people he could, as the Indians were now hostile to them also. Montero, however, had not waited for these orders, but retreated on his own account, reaching San Antonio September 2. His line of march had been through Navasota, where five soldiers had deserted, and from these to the capital.²

Salcedo has left us a bitter arraignment of the conduct of the United States. After repeating to the viceroy a fuller account of the desertion of Nacogdoches, which had been made necessary because of the attitude of the people, all of whom had been seduced, as well as many of the soldiers who refused to respond to the call to arms, he took up the case against the American republic.³

¹Salcedo to Viceroy, August 17, 1812; MS. *Operaciones de Guerra* (Manuel de Salcedo) I. f. 185; Mexican Archives.

²Salcedo to Montero, August 21, 1812; MS. *Operaciones de Guerra* (Manuel de Salcedo) I. f. 193; Mexican Archives.

³Salcedo to Viceroy, September 24, 1812; MS. *Operaciones de Guerra* (Manuel de Salcedo) I. f. 194; Mexican Archives.

"Our invaders are as yet insignificant; but this which seems unimportant is much to my mind, especially when we know that the United States has aided Gutierrez, knowing him to be a refugee. We know also that they secretly aided in the overthrow of West Florida, and that this reunion took place within view of the judges of that country. They made no effort to interfere, as they could and ought; for this sort of attack is the most insulting which one government can offer to another. Knowing this and the grave dangers which may follow the coming of these revolutionists, I desire to find myself entrusted with a sufficient force to drive them beyond the bounds of their own country. . . . I must repeat to your excellency the necessity of sending me by sea some of the troops from Spain. This is urgent because of the nature of the war which is being waged by the enemy through the medium of incendiary literature, the doctrines therein contained being readily accepted by the troops and the people."

Certainly some of Salcedo's points are well taken. He was wrong, however, in crediting the *government* with a part in the overthrow of West Florida; but to one not versed in the mystery of this government's actions, the promptitude with which that territory was annexed to the Anglo-American republic was at least ground for suspicion. Nor was Gutierrez, so far as we know, aided by the government. Where the culpability of the administration lay was in its failure to enforce the neutrality laws. We have seen that as early as April 6 the Spaniards knew that Gutierrez was at work on his scheme. It seems strange that the officers in the United States learned nothing of the preparations and the enlistments until August. It happened by coincidence that the day Nacogdoches fell into the hands of the filibusters, August 11, Claiborne issued his proclamation against the enterprise.¹ John Dick, United States attorney, later offered the excuse that though it was known, it was not possible to act because no assemblage could be found.² A much more likely excuse would have been that the Neutral Ground, which was beyond the independent jurisdiction of the United States, was made the base for operations. The war with England, too, doubtless played a part in withdrawing the attention of the authorities. However, it is probable that the expedition was purposely overlooked.

¹Proclamation, August 11, 1812; MS. No. 689; Archives State of Texas.

²*American State Papers*, XI 302.

After the taking of Nacogdoches the town became the headquarters of the invaders. There the final organization was completed; Lieutenant Magee, who had resigned his commission in the United States army, was elected colonel with the chief command, though Gutierrez, for palpable reasons, bore the title of general.¹ While provisions were being collected and recruits mustered, the leaders prepared at least three distinct forms of proclamations which were supposed to set forth their designs. They were in bad Spanish and written, which probably makes a fiction of the earlier report that the insurrectionists were possessed of a printing press. These interesting papers bore the date of September 1, 1812, "the second year of our independence," and were issued from the "quarters of General Jose Bernardo Gutierrez, colonel in the armies of the Republic of Mexico, and representative to the government of the United States of America, and commander-in-chief of the Army of the North." One of the proclamations was issued specially to the soldiers and citizens of San Antonio. It ran as follows:²

"Soldiers and citizens of San Antonio de Bexar: It is more than a year since I left my country, during which time I have labored indefatigably for our good. I have overcome many difficulties, have made friends and have obtained means to aid us in throwing off the insulting yoke of the insolent despotism. Rise *en masse*, soldiers and citizens; unite in the holy cause of our country! Many of our friends and countrymen have been unjustly slain by the sword of the tyrant! Their blood cries aloud from the grave for vengeance! Their souls are before the throne of God, praying for revenge and for our victories.

"I am now marching to your succor with a respectable force of American volunteers who have left their homes and families to take up our cause, to fight for our liberty. They are the free descendants of the men who fought for the independence of the United States; they feel the force and worth of liberty as did their fathers in the war with Great Britain; and as brothers and inhabitants of the same continent they have drawn their swords with a hearty good will in the defense of the cause of humanity, and in order to drive the tyrannous Europeans beyond the Atlantic. . . .

"Awake! Awake! Think no more of these tyrants who pretend

¹Yoakum, I. 162.

²Proclamation, September 1, 1812; MS. *Operaciones de Guerra* (Manuel de Salcedo) J. f. 203; Mexican Archives.

to have absolute power over your lives, who have dyed their iniquitous hands in the blood of your brethren! . . . They have no longer the shadow of authority; the legitimate power is in your own hands—and you shall soon be free!”

September 4, Gutierrez wrote Don Luis Grande, an influential friend in San Antonio, that he had despatched thither a dozen proclamations by Alferez Miguel Menchaca; but that great difficulties would be experienced in getting into the city because of the Spanish spies who covered the country up to the Guadalupe River. If, however, they reached his hands he should circulate them by dropping them by the doors of those to be trusted, in this way spreading the truth.¹ But the despatches never reached their destination. September 22 the governor announced the capture of Luis Grande and a deserter, Bergara, who had in their possession seditious documents.² Thus the inflammatory papers—than which one would search far to find a more inflammatory—found a safe lodgment in the dark vaults of the palace of the viceroy of Nueva España.

A second proclamation³ was directed to the inhabitants of the province of Texas. Gutierrez began by avowing that he had come to assist them in casting off the chains of the most debasing tyranny the world had ever known—the government of the foreign-born Spaniard, “*Europeo*.”

“I have traveled immense distances,” he continued, in an exaggerated vein, “have treated with the supreme government of North America concerning those things directly affecting the security of our sacred rights, and have opened a road which had been previously closed. Moreover, I discussed those matters, which to me seemed necessary, with the ambassadors and ministers of the kings of Europe, securing the abandonment of various and formidable armadas, which were being prepared for the war against us, by counter-acting the stories which the *Gachupines* [European-born Spaniards] had circulated. . . . All of the civilized nations have

¹Gutierrez to Luis Grande, September 4, 1812; MS. *Operaciones de Guerra* (Manuel de Salcedo) I. f. 199; Mexican Archives.

²Manuel de Salcedo to Nemesio de Salcedo, September 22, 1812; MS. *Operaciones de Guerra* (Manuel de Salcedo) I. f. 204; Mexican Archives.

³Proclamation September 1, 1812; MS. *Operaciones de Guerra* (Manuel de Salcedo) I. f. 203; Mexican Archives.

declared in favor of our independence, and have promised me many things when we shall have destroyed our oppressors."

After this egotistic paragraph interlarded with exaggerations of such a character as were evidently calculated to deceive the ignorant natives, he exhorted them to raise their voices against the detested foreigners, and to await his approach when they should have no fear as to the result:

"By land as well as by sea are coming very powerful reinforcements of troops and arms, and whatever else we need. And you may say with full assurance that we shall never again be dominated by those foreigners, and that the days of horror and calamity have passed away forever."

The prospects of success held out by the general of the Army of the North could hardly have been more flattering. Perhaps he felt that in this way he could turn the wavering to his standard. The immediate future proved some of his statements false; but he was right when he said that the Spaniards would never rule over them again. However, he was wrong when he thought the expulsion would end the days of horror and calamity.

The third proclamation of the series was addressed to the inhabitants of the kingdom of Mexico. Its chief interest lies in the fact that if it is to be accepted as an outline of the purpose of the revolutionists, the nature of the expedition has not been understood,—its sphere of action was not to have been limited to the province of Texas.¹ In this, as in former declarations, he exaggerated his strength and resources, while he appealed to the prejudices existing in the church to further his cause. He stated that he had at his disposal the thousands of men necessary to give freedom to the kingdom; and then followed a series of promises to the people:

"All persons shall have a right to vote; to make use of the gift of nature to establish the laws of the government under which they live; and to choose those by whom they are to be governed, and in whose hands are to be deposited their sovereign rights. Every one shall have the right to engage in commercial pursuits and to export his products; agriculture and the arts shall be encouraged in all their branches; and one may live where his happiness is best served, without any government lawfully to interfere."

After these pledges it was stated that the church would suffer no

¹Compare Yoakum, I 153.

change, though some reforms would be undertaken. Next, the General discussed the ideas which animated the brave, noble Americans who were marching to fight for the freedom of Mexico. He had not come, he avowed, nor his army, to rob nor to take aught from anyone, not even the *Europeos* who loved the new order of things; but woe to "those traitors who oppose the course of independence and happiness!"

These manifestoes exhibit the full code of the revolution. They were not, however, the creations of Gutierrez; he was an ordinary mortal, and proved utterly inefficient. The handiwork of the Americans is everywhere manifest; and if reliance can be placed in the appeals which were issued from Nacogdoches, it must be granted that the followers of Gutierrez and Magee were imbued with higher ideals and less of selfishness than we are accustomed to credit to them.

In fine, September, 1812, found the filibusters about five hundred strong at Nacogdoches, making ready to advance, with no foe nearer than Goliad (La Bahia). Thus all the eastern part of the province of Texas had been abandoned, though with no idea of leaving it permanently in the hands of the "infamous Anglos." While the reinforcements which Salcedo had solicited were coming up, adventurers and filibusters were daily added to the roll of those who had undertaken a task greater than they could master.

BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

The *Publications* of the Southern History Association for November, 1900, contains two rather important articles: *Some Colonial Ancestors of Johns Hopkins*, and *Southern Frontier Life in Revolutionary Days*. The latter shows a very interesting picture of early Tennessee life. There is also a somewhat long review of Dr. J. P. MacLean's book, *Highlanders in America*, and many other reviews of lesser note. The *Publications* has expanded in the present number to 128 pages.

The American Historical Review for January contains the following notable articles: *The Sifted Grain and the Grain Sifters*, by Charles F. Adams; *Mirabeau's Secret Mission to Berlin*, by R. M. Johnston; *The Turkish Capitulation*, by James B. Angell; *Nominations in Colonial New York*, by Carl Becker; *The Legend of Marcus Whitman*, by Edward G. Bourne. The documents consist of the diary of Samuel Cooper, 1775, 1776, and a letter of John Quincy Adams, 1811.

The Chevalier de St. Denis.—By Alice Ilgenfritz Jones, author of "*Beatrice of Bayou Têche*." Chicago: A. C. McClurg and Company. 1900. Pp. 387.

This is a well written historical novel. In a very pleasing manner, the hero is introduced and brought to his first meeting with the young girl with the wonderful speaking eyes in the presence of the king of France; and he there catches from her a glance which binds him as by a spell and is finally paired off with her in the first dance. Then they are passed through many exciting changes and trying circumstances, including a journey together to Spain, where St. Denis meets her father and is told by him that the daughter's hand is disposed of, but hears from her that she loves him, and will marry none other.

While there he meets his rival, and the plot thickens till he resolves to take service in the Spanish army, which is delayed till he goes back to France and returns with his King's approbation.

"Well," says the king, "go to Spain, then, Monsieur, and do your best there, and God be with you!"

From that time the rapid and startling events intervening until the hero and heroine are apparently in danger of never meeting again, can be appreciated only by reading chapters XVII and XVIII. The hero passes through captivity, shipwreck and service in the British navy against the pirates, to Mobile, where the plan is formed for an expedition westward to Natchitoches; and then the march to that place is admirably pictured with its incidents and some seeming breaches of established historical lore. From Natchitoches he goes through Texas to the Rio Grande by way of the Ceniz village, the presidio de la Bahia del Espíritu Santo, and that of San Antonio; the reference to these presidios not being anachronistic, as believed by some, for General Alonso de Leon placed a garrison at each of them in 1690, over twenty-four years before the hero passed them. After fording the Bravo at the Pecuahe crossing, he and his faithful friend gallop two leagues to the presidio and mission of San Juan Bautista, where they find the father of Maria in command. She and St. Denis, after many other exciting and trying events, marry there and this happy denouement closes the scene and ends the story.

This book is above the average of its kind in the market, having a liberal share of invented topics pertinent to and pleasingly connected with its main thread and manifesting diligent study and a correct and comprehensive knowledge of the episode of Spanish-American history which furnishes the plot.

BETHEL COOPWOOD.

NOTES AND FRAGMENTS.

"THE WHIP-HANDLE DISPATCH": In the "Escape of Karnes and Teal from Matamoras" (Quarterly, October, 1900) R. M. Potter has told the story of the "whip-handle dispatch." He did not know its date, and was uncertain about other details. It reads like this:

"Matamoras, State of Tamaulipas,
"June 9th, 1836.

"My Dear friend.—I am sorry to inform you of our unfortunate situation. We are detained here for nothing but to keep you ignorant of the enemy's intention; they will soon be down on you in great numbers; four thousand will leave here in four or eight days for La Bahia, it is supposed via Nueces or San Patricio, and so many more by water, in 15 or 20 days from Vera Cruz, to land at Capano or Brazos, not yet ascertained at which place. They make a war of extermination and show no quarters. My dear friends, you see what treating with a prisoner is, but you must make the best of it, you can fall back to the Colorado; and call all the men to the field, for if you do not Texas is gone; they have heard that the President is at Velasco, with a very small guard, and say they will have him in less than two weeks, I think you ought to send all the prisoners through to San Augustine for safe keeping.

"You will have from 7 to 10,000 troops to contend with, many of them cavalry, to be well mounted, to murder women and children. Now soldiers, you must not spare any pains for the sake of saving us; we are willing to be lost to save Texas. Dear soldiers! march to the field, and there defend your rights, they say that you are rebels; but you must show them that you are soldiers, and know how to defend your rights—send all of the prisoners to the East. We are not in jail yet, but tomorrow demand our passports, as soon as that is done, we shall have quarters in the calaboose. We have good friends, which prudence at present forbids me to name for fear of detection.

"Urea is commander-in-chief of the Mexican army, and says he will not stop short of the Sabine river.

"You must now work head work as well as fighting. Blow up

Goliad and Bexar. You must have a sufficient force in the field at once, and we will whip them again;—be united—let the people of the U. S. know what kind of a war they make of it, and they will certainly come to our assistance. I do not consider our lives in danger if in close quarters. To give you as much information as possible my letter is in this small hand. I bid you adieu in haste,

“Our cause forever, Your friend,

“HENRY TEAL.

“I concur with all that has been stated above and foregoing,

“Your Obdt. servant,

“H. W. KARNES.”

Captain Potter was of the opinion that the dispatch fell into the hands of irresponsible persons, “for,” says he, “one letter went speedily to press, which it would never have done through the hands of General Rusk.” This inference, however, is incorrect. All the letters contained in the whip handle were forwarded to the War Department, and copies of the one above, with another from Major W. P. Miller—both over the certificate of Alexander Somerville, Secretary of War—were published in a circular on June 20, 1836, with a proclamation from President Burnet, ordering all citizens between the ages of sixteen and fifty to enroll in the militia. Several copies of this document are found among the Austin Papers in the collection of Hon. Guy M. Bryan.

EUGENE C. BARKER.

THE TEXAS REPUBLICAN.—In his article on “Newspaper Files” (*Quarterly*, October, 1900), Alex Dienst says the *Texas Republican*, “was discontinued in August, 1835.” Mr. A. C. Gray, in his monograph, “The Texas Press” (*A Comprehensive History of Texas*, II. 369-70), says that an intermittent publication of this paper was kept up until “August, 1836;” so it appears possible that Dr. Dienst may have been following this account,—though he does not say so—and that the date given by him is a misprint. There is reason to believe, however, that Gray is in error, too; for in the *Telegraph and Texas Register*, January 18th, 1837, one may read this: “* * * in our last two papers published at San Felipe, on the 17th and 24th of March [1836]. Before the last date the presses at Brazoria [of the *Texas Republican*] and Nacogdoches had ceased their publica-

tions." This seems to fix the date pretty closely, and, being an almost contemporaneous publication, it is valuable historical evidence. Mr. Gray does not mention the authority for his statement.

Among the Austin Papers, in the collection of the Hon. Guy M. Bryan, there are many copies of the *Republican*, dating from June to November, 1835. The latest is for November 14, 1835.

EUGENE C. BARKER.

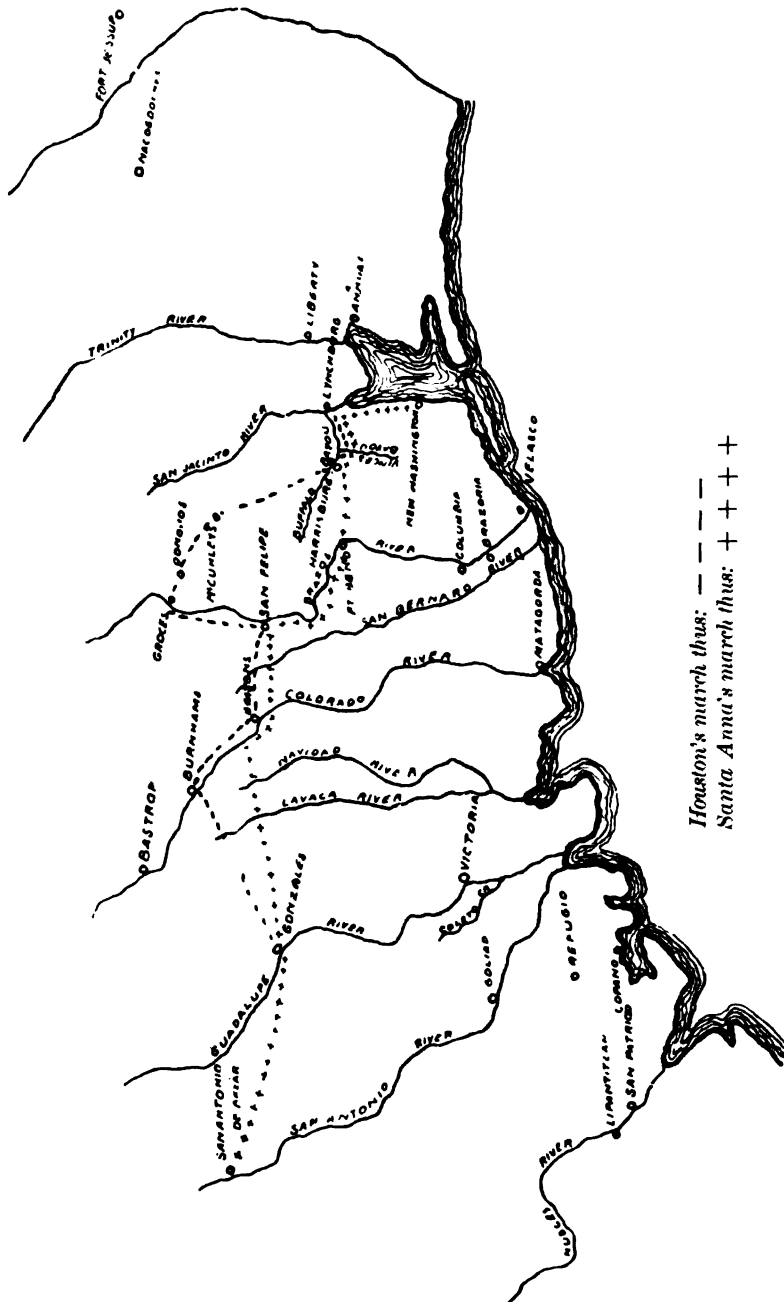
AFFAIRS OF THE ASSOCIATION.

The midwinter meeting of the Association was held at Baylor University on January 5. In the absence of Judge Reagan, Hon. Oscar H. Cooper, President of that University, presided over the meeting; and Dr. George P. Garrison delivered a brief address, explaining the object of the Association, and describing and discussing the various collections of documents—in both Texas and Mexico—which contain the unwritten history of Texas.

The program, as announced, consisted of *The Difficulties of a Mexican Revenue Officer in Texas*, by Eugene C. Barker; *The Picturesque Side of Protestantism in the Republic*, by Miss Elizabeth West, and *The Alamo Monument*, by C. W. Raines. The first of these papers will be found in this number of the QUARTERLY; the last two were read by title. President Cooper, too, read a letter that had been written by himself to Governor Roberts—and returned to him with the latter's endorsement,—reviewing the history of the bill organizing the University of Texas. The letter forms an interesting chapter in the educational history of the State.

After the conclusion of the program, a business meeting was held, and more than a hundred members elected to the Association.





Houston's march thus: — — — — —
 Santa Anna's march thus: + + + + +

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THE SAN JACINTO CAMPAIGN.

EUGENE C. BARKER.

[INTRODUCTION: In this paper little claim is made to originality of matter. I have been able to find but few documents bearing directly upon the San Jacinto campaign that were unknown to others who have handled the subject,—and those few are not of great importance. But from all of the available material I have attempted to construct a clear and absolutely unpartisan narrative, a task which can hardly be said to have been accomplished with any degree of success as yet by any historian save Bancroft. To this end, I have confined myself strictly to a narration of facts, avoiding—so far as is consistent with an intelligent treatment of the subject—any expression of personal opinion or discussion. And where, upon disputed points, it has been necessary to choose between conflicting statements, I have endeavored to present in the notes both sides of the question, in order that the reader may draw his own conclusions.

A word is necessary concerning the material in English for a history of this campaign. Though there is a good deal, very little of it is contemporaneous, Houston's letters, published in the appendix to Yoakum's *History of Texas*, a few letters and proclamations in the Archives of Texas, and some newspaper clippings, circulars, and letters in the Austin Papers being all of such a character that I have found. Most of the remainder was written at various dates between 1837 and 1860, while Houston was prominent in politics and had both devoted friends and bitter enemies, and is strongly colored by personal prejudices. In presenting the main facts from different view points, however, and acting as checks upon one another, these documents are valuable, but need to be used with caution.

Several documents are published supplementary to this paper, the object being to popularize much that has hitherto been practically inaccessible to the public. Those written by Kuykendall, Turner, and Baker, now appear in print for the first time, and Santa Anna's Report is new in English; the first two, with Houston's official report of the battle of San Jacinto, are published in full, but in the extracts from Baker's letter and all the other documents only the main narrative has been retained. The documents are arranged in the chronological order—so far as I have been able to determine it—in which they were written. They are sparingly annotated, and unless otherwise indicated the notes are those of the respective writers. To each one of them I have prefixed a brief bibliography, and a summary covering disputed points.

On account of space limitations, it has been necessary to select the documents printed, and to omit some that are well worth publication. The published works used in addition to these in the preparation of this paper will be found in the attached list (pp. 344-45), which, though not intended to be exhaustive, contains, I believe, all the important material at present known upon the subject.

In the notes to this paper, for the sake of convenience, citations to Foote's *Texas and the Texans*, Kennedy's *Texas*, Yoakum's *History of Texas*, Bancroft's *North Mexican States and Texas*, and Brown's *History of Texas* are made by the name of the author instead of by the title of the book.]

The so-called San Jacinto campaign¹ occupied just one month and ten days of the spring of 1836, beginning with Houston's assumption of the command at Gonzales (March 11), and ending with the battle of San Jacinto. During the first five weeks of this time the chief occupation of the Texan army consisted apparently in the effort to keep out of reach of the Mexicans, but for the last five days it assumed a more belligerent policy, and, in the end, almost annihilated the enemy on the field of San Jacinto. Before commencing the narrative, however, it will be necessary to glance, first, at the distribution of Texan and Mexican forces at the beginning of the campaign; and then to take a brief retrospect of Texan affairs for the preceding few months.

Santa Anna had arrived in Bexar (San Antonio) on February 23, 1836, with an army 2,500 or 3,000 strong,² and sat down to the

¹It might, perhaps, be more accurately entitled "The Retreat from Gonzales to San Jacinto."

²R. M. Potter, in *Fall of the Alamo*, 16—a reprint from *Magazine of American History*, January, 1878.

siege of the Alamo, defended by a hundred and fifty-six men under command of Colonels Travis and Bowie. Another division of 900 or 1,000 men¹ was advancing from Matamoros under General Urrea towards San Patricio and Goliad.

The Texan volunteers had successfully measured arms with Mexican regulars in the fall and winter of 1835 at Gonzales, Goliad, Lipantitlan, Concepcion, and San Antonio; and besides the garrison in the Alamo at this time, there were nearly five hundred men with Fannin at Goliad, about a hundred with Johnson and Grant at San Patricio, and some four hundred on the march to concentrate at Gonzales.

The consultation which met October 16, 1835, but, from scarcity of members, did not organize until November 3, had declared that Texas would "defend with arms the republican principles of the constitution of 1824" against the centralizing encroachments of Santa Anna, and, on November 12, elected Sam Houston commander-in-chief of "all the forces called into service during the war," giving him the rank of major-general. And Houston, without attempting to assume command of the volunteers then besieging San Antonio, had established his headquarters at San Felipe and begun with scant success the work of organizing a regular army.

The Mexicans had temporarily abandoned Texas after the evacuation of Bexar by General Cos, about the middle of December, and the General Council, encouraged by promises of generous support from the republicans of Mexico and desiring to secure the contentment of their volunteers by keeping them busy, determined to direct an attack upon Matamoros and continue the war in the enemy's country. Governor Smith was opposed to this expedition, but the Council having authorized it over his veto and separately commissioned both J. W. Fannin, Jr., and F. W. Johnson to prepare for it, he ordered General Houston, on January 6, to proceed to Goliad, to take charge of the troops there and at San Patricio and Refugio and lead them upon Matamoros. The latter found the forces at these places unprepared and in considerable confusion, and becom-

¹Bancroft, II, 222.

Santa Anna (Report in Caro's *Verdadera Idea de la Primera Campaña de Tejas*, 79) says this force was 1300 strong; while Urrea (*Diario*, 7) says it numbered only 550, 200 of whom remained in Matamoros.

ing convinced that the expedition was foredoomed to failure, returned to Washington, reported as much to the governor on January 30,¹ and obtained a furlough until March 1 to treat with the Indians of East Texas, a task that had been imposed upon him by the General Council a month before.²

Houston, however, did not leave the frontier without making a strong effort to prevent the expedition which he was convinced could not succeed. Hearing of Governor Smith's deposition from office, he assembled the volunteers and declared the undertaking unauthorized; and such was the effect of his speech that when Johnson arrived at Refugio he found that of the men there and at Goliad barely a hundred would follow him without the order of the governor.³ Temporarily relinquishing the Matamoros plan perforce, then, he and his colleague, Dr. Grant, advanced with this small party to San Patricio. Here half of them were surprised by Urrea during the stormy night of February 27 and either killed or captured, Johnson and three companions only escaping. The remainder of the company, returning from a foraging expedition three days later, were ambushed near the town, and only two or three escaped the slaughter.

Fannin, who had arrived in the meantime at Refugio, being apprised of the approach of the enemy and the disaster to Johnson and Grant's party, moved back to Goliad and began preparations to hold that post with nearly five hundred men, volunteers chiefly from Georgia and Alabama.

Meanwhile the provisional government, through the quarrel between the governor and General Council, had become thoroughly disorganized; but fortunately a resolution had been passed in December, in spite of the governor's veto, authorizing the election of delegates to a convention at Washington, March 1. The representatives had plenary power to formulate a government *ad interim*, and when the convention assembled, independence was declared and

¹Houston to Smith (Copy), January 30, 1836.—Archives of Texas. Also in Brown, I, 502-16.

²*Journal of the General Council*, 194.

³Johnson to General Council, January 30, 1836 (Copy).—Archives of Texas.

immediate steps taken to organize a republic; while General Houston—a delegate, strangely enough, from Refugio, though he was a resident of Nacogdoches,—was formally re-elected commander of the Texan forces,¹ and urged to place himself at the head of the troops then in Gonzales and hasten to the relief of the Alamo.

To take up now the San Jacinto campaign, on Sunday, March 6, when Santa Anna had just concluded the storming of the Alamo, General Houston made a farewell speech to the convention and began his journey to Gonzales. Having been informed of the alarming situation of the garrison in Bexar through a letter from Colonel Travis to the convention, dated March 3,² he formed, as he went, a plan for its relief. Fannin, at Goliad, was ordered to advance with the bulk of his division to the west bank of the Cibolo and await there the arrival of the commander-in-chief who would join him with all the forces from Gonzales and march to Travis's rescue.³ On reaching Gonzales, however (March 11), he was met by a rumor that the Alamo had been captured, and privately confiding in its truth, though pretending to disbelieve it, he dispatched an express

¹Yoakum explains (II, 74) that this was necessary, because Houston's former commission was held under the Mexican Constitution of 1824. In 1837, President Burnet was of this opinion, too; for, in another connection, he says (*Telegraph and Texas Register*, August 26, 1837—Austin Papers, 44): "The provisional gubernatorial government of Texas in January, 1836, was a *Mexican* state government, organized under the Mexican Constitution of 1824, * * *. By necessary consequence, all the offices created by that state government, and all commissions civil and military, issued by and under its authority, were purely and properly *Mexican*, * * *. On the 2d of March, * * * they declared Texas to be * * * independent. * * *. The 8th section of the schedule of the new Constitution provided for *all civil* officers remaining and discharging their duties until others should be appointed, etc. * * *. But there was no such provision in regard to military appointments, * * *." But, writing of this particular case in 1860 (*Texas Almanac*, 1860, 50), he says: "* * * Gen. Houston * * * asked and received a renewal of his commission as commander-in-chief. This was a useless consumption of time; for all, civil and military, recognized him as such as fully before as after the reappointment."

²Gammel's *Laws of Texas*, I, 845-46.

³Yoakum, II, 104, note; also Houston to Collinsworth, March 13, 1836, in Yoakum, II, 473-74.

to Fannin, countermanding his previous order and instructing him, "as soon as practicable," to fall back to Victoria.¹

At Gonzales Houston found, according to his own report, "three hundred and seventy-four effective men, without two days' provisions,² many without arms, and others without any ammunition;"³ and although a few had served under Austin and Burleson the preceding year, the most of them were entirely innocent of any knowledge of military discipline. While waiting, therefore, for confirmation of the fall of the Alamo, he seized the opportunity to organize his force. A regiment was formed with Edward Burleson for colonel, and Sidney Sherman and Alexander Somervell lieutenant-colonel and major respectively. Houston regretted, however, that he had not time to teach the men "the first principles of the drill."

Deaf Smith, Henry Karnes, and R. E. Handy, sent out on the morning of the 13th with instructions to approach near enough to San Antonio to learn the fate of the Alamo, met Mrs. Dickinson, the wife of a lieutenant killed in the Alamo, some twenty miles from Gonzales, and learned that the worst had happened, and that a division of the enemy under General Sesma was already on the march eastward. They returned with her to camp, where they arrived about twilight, and her report threw both army and town into the greatest consternation. Thirty-two of Santa Anna's victims had left their homes in Gonzales no longer than two weeks before, and the grief of their stricken families was intense. Others, with ears only for the news that the Mexicans were advancing, hastened to flee for their lives—a few of the little army who had left their own families unprotected doubtless among them.⁴ Hous-

¹Houston to Fannin, March 11, 1836, in Yoakum, II, 471-72: also in Brown, I, 588-89.

²J. H. Kuykendall says (*infra*, 203), "Pork, corn-meal, and vegetables were supplied us in abundance by the people of Gonzales, and we had brought a good supply of bacon and sugar and coffee from home."

³Houston to Collinsworth, March 15, 1836, in Yoakum, II, 475-76.

This number is probably correct, for Moseley Baker reported (clipping of the *Telegraph and Texas Register*—Austin Papers) only 275 men assembled on March 8.

⁴Houston to Collinsworth, March 15, 1836, in Yoakum, II, 476.

ton himself thought his position too advanced and his force too small to meet the enemy at Gonzales, and in the midst of the general excitement ordered his men to prepare for retreat. Some of his few baggage wagons being surrendered to the helpless citizens of the town, the soldiers were forced to destroy all clothing and stores, except what they could carry on their persons;¹ and his only two pieces of cannon were thrown into the Guadalupe. Before midnight he was on the march,² his plan, as reported by himself at the time, being to halt on the Colorado until strengthened sufficiently to meet any force that the Mexicans might dare to send against him.³ And before morning Gonzales was burned to the ground, that it might not afford shelter and supplies to the approaching enemy.⁴

At the Colorado, Houston would be near the most populous section of the state where he could easily command its resources and receive quick reinforcement; while so long as he could hold that line, the Mexicans would be restricted to an uninhabited country, where they could do no damage to Texas, and whence, if held long enough in check, they might be compelled to withdraw merely through failure of their own supplies.

After receiving several small reinforcements along the line, the army reached Burnham's crossing on the Colorado in the afternoon of the 17th, when Houston reported his strength as six hundred men.⁵ Remaining here two days, they crossed the river and

¹J. H. Kuykendall, *infra*, 294.

²Bancroft (II, 225) follows Foote in dating the beginning of the retreat on March 12.

³Houston to Collinsworth, March 15, 1836, in Yoakum, II, 475-77.

Even Houston's critics, though they object to his precipitancy, agree that he did right in leaving Gonzales: President Burnet says (*Texas Almanac*, 1860, 52; *infra*, 327), "The retreat from Gonzales was inevitable, an absolute necessity. The grand error had consisted in choosing two feeble, isolated positions, Goliad and San Antonio, as the bases of defensive operations."

⁴Bancroft (II, 225, note 54) thinks the evidence warrants the conclusion that Houston verbally ordered the destruction of the town; though he himself repeatedly denied it. See *infra*, 318.

⁵Houston to Collinsworth, March 17, 1836, in Yoakum, II, 477-78.

descended the east bank to Beason's Ford, near the present town of Columbus, where they pitched camp for nearly a week.

Before leaving Burnham's however, a scouting party, consisting of Deaf Smith, Henry Karnes, R. E. Handy, and three others, was sent back toward the Navidad to reconnoitre, and encountering a similar body of the enemy at Rocky Creek, they took one prisoner and learned that General Sesma was near with a considerable force.¹ The latter, indeed, who had left Bexar on the 11th with orders from Santa Anna to proceed through San Felipe and Harrisburg to Anahuac, encamped the night of the 21st² on the west bank of the Colorado, only two miles above the Texans. He had but 725 men,³ and having already asked for reinforcements, and finding the river well defended, he made no attempt to cross.

In this position the two armies remained five days, Houston receiving reinforcements all the time until, by the 26th, he could have mustered from twelve to fourteen hundred men,⁴ though the two cannon for which he had sent William T. Austin to Velasco did not arrive. Several prisoners were taken from time to time, and almost the exact strength of the enemy being learned,⁵ the

¹Hockley to Rusk, March 21, 1836, in Yoakum, II, 479-80.

Footnote, following the narrative of John Sharpe, has the dates all wrong here.

²Brown (II, 6) says they did not arrive till the 23rd.

³Filisola's *Representation*, 8—translation in State Library.

⁴For various estimates of the Texan force here, see *infra*, 328. Sesma (Filisola's *Representation*, 8) thought them about 1,200; John Sharpe, who left camp on the 25th, reported (circular to the citizens of Brazoria, March 27, 1836—Austin Papers) 1,000 to 1,200 already assembled, and that he had met "several small companies pushing on for camp;" Mosely Baker (*Telegraph and Texas Register*, March 24, 1836—Austin Papers) reported 800 men on the 22nd: G. W. Hockley reported to Rusk for Houston (Yoakum, II, 481) "upward of seven hundred men," on the 23rd, and Houston himself adding to this the next day said, "I expect in a few days to receive two hundred volunteers and regulars. * * * In a few days my force will be highly respectable." Subsequently Houston declared that his "effective" force never exceeded 700 (*infra*, 325).

⁵Yoakum (II, 110-11), entirely without justification—for he publishes Hockley's and Houston's letters, of March 23rd and 24th, to Rusk (II, 480-84),—says the Texans understood the enemy's force to number at least 2,650, "with heavy reinforcements coming up."

Texans became eager to fight. Houston, too, up to the very day of his retreat, seemed to think it desirable to engage Sesma here;¹ but suddenly changed his mind, and late in the afternoon of March 26th began to fall back towards the Brazos.

Why he took such a step is not evident.² So long as he remained on the Colorado he received daily reinforcements—as he himself said, his force was rapidly becoming “respectable.” And though considerable excitement had been created by the refugees from Gonzales, it had been largely allayed through his assurances that the enemy should not pass the Colorado. It seems likely, indeed, that merely by holding that line, without risking a battle, his strength would soon have become sufficient to encounter the combined Mexican army. When, however, along with the news of Fannin’s misfortune, it became known that the Texans were falling back from the Colorado, the wildest confusion seized upon all east of that river. Reinforcements on their way to join the army faced about, and fled with their families to put them in safety beyond the Sabine. And many of the volunteers already with Houston—either

¹Houston, writing to R. R. Royal, March 24th (Yoakum, II, 485), says, “on the Colorado I make my stand”; John Sharpe, leaving camp on the 25th, announced to the people of Brazoria on the 27th that “* * * our army now will never leave the Colorado, but to go westward, * * *” and declared (Foote, II, 278, note) that he did so by authority of General Houston; and Baker, Coleman, and others, assert that on the morning of the 26th the general promised to attack Sesma at daybreak the next morning *infra*, 277).

²General Tolsa had arrived on the 24th with reinforcements which increased Sesma’s division to 1,300 or 1,400; but neither Houston nor any body else, so far as I know, ever intimated that this had the slightest influence on the Texan retreat—in fact the army seems to have left the Colorado thinking that Sesma had no more than 800 men. Yoakum says Tolsa arrived about the time the Texans encamped at Beason’s. Bancroft suggests that, Peter Kerr having brought the news of Fannin’s disaster on the 25th, Houston retreated, fearing that Urrea would now gain his rear. Houston, however, was pretty sure of Fannin’s defeat as early as the 23rd (Houston to Rusk, March 23, 1836, in Yoakum, II, 482-84); but, as we have already seen, his determination to hold the Colorado did not waver therefor. In after years, when hard pressed for a reason, he himself could think of nothing better than that a battle with Sesma must necessarily have been indecisive and that he had no means of transporting wounded soldiers in a retreat after battle (*infra*, 319, 335).

with or without permission—left him for the same purpose, so that when he reached the Brazos his force was reduced more than half.¹

Arriving at San Felipe on the 28th, the little army remained over night and set out the next day for Groce's, fifteen or twenty miles up the river. Many thought that since most of the settlements were down the river, the movement should be made in that direction, and Moseley Baker and Wily Martin refused to follow Houston further.² The former, therefore, was ordered to guard San Felipe with his company of a hundred and twenty men;³ while the latter, with a hundred men,⁴ was sent to hold the crossing at Fort Bend. Dissatisfaction, indeed, was general throughout the ranks, and was only increased by the difficulties of the march through muddy roads and a driving rain. After encamping near Mill creek on the night of the 29th and marching but a few miles the next day, they came to Groce's on the 31st and went into camp for nearly a fortnight.⁵

Santa Anna, in the meantime, having ordered General Gaona to diverge from his original route to Nacogdoches and advance from

¹For a graphic picture of the excited condition of the country at this time, see Kate Scurry Terrell's *The Runaway Scrape*, in *A Comprehensive History of Texas*, I, 669-71; for a vivid contemporary account, consult *The Reminiscences of Mrs. Dilue Harris*, in the *QUARTERLY*, IV, 162-69.

²N. D. Labadie, in *Texas Almanac*, 1859, 44, *infra*, 310; also 279.

³This is Burnet's number (*Texas Almanac*, 1860, 58; *infra*, 329); Santa Anna was informed (*Verdadera Idea*, 81, *infra*, 266) that Baker had 150 men; while Baker himself (*infra*, 279) declares that his original company numbered only forty, but that volunteers joined him, increasing his force to eighty-five. After the enemy came up, Houston sent him additional reinforcements (See Yoakum, II, 493).

⁴This is Baker's number (*infra*, 280); Santa Anna calls it a "scant detachment" (*un corto destacamento*).

⁵Houston's reason for halting in such an out of the way place has never been satisfactorily explained; writing to Rusk on the 31st (in Yoakum, II, 487) he said, "I have the honor to report to you my arrival at this point, with a view to receive reinforcements and supplies. It is the best and nearest route to Harrisburg, or the Bay, at which I could have struck the Brazos, and it will prevent the whole country passing the Trinity." Captain R. J. Calder thought it was for purposes of discipline (*infra*, 336).

Bastrop upon San Felipe, and Urrea to march upon Brazoria, started five hundred men under Colonel Augustin Amat to reinforce Sesma, and leaving General Filisola at Gonzales, to take command of these and superintend their passage of the Guadalupe, pressed on to join Sesma himself.¹ This he did on the east bank of the Colorado, that general having just crossed at the Atascosita ford, and together they hastened after Houston to San Felipe, the ruins of which they reached April 7.² Finding the crossing here in possession of Baker's company, Santa Anna made a reconnoissance for several miles up and down the swollen river in the hope of discovering a ford where he might cross and surprise Baker by a night attack. But failing in this, he ordered the construction of two large flat-boats, and then, too impatient to remain inactive while this was being done, for he desired to end the campaign before the rains rendered the country impassable, set out down the river with five hundred grenadiers and fifty cavalry, looking for more expeditious means of crossing.³ After three days he gained possession of the ferry at Fort Bend,⁴ and was joined on the 13th by Sesma, who had been awaiting in vain at San Felipe the arrival of Gaona and Filisola.

Here Santa Anna learned that the seat of government was only twelve leagues distant and unprotected, and that by a rapid march

¹*Verdadera Idea*, 79-81.

²Moseley Baker had set fire to the town in the afternoon of the 29th, upon a report from his scouts that the enemy were approaching. In 1838 Baker declared under oath that this was done in accordance with Houston's written order (*Texas Almanac*, 1860, 59; *infra*, 329); but the latter always denied it. Even as early as March 31, 1836, writing to Rusk (in Yoakum, II, 487-88), he says, "Two nights since, when it was reported that the enemy were on this side of the Colorado, the citizens of San Felipe reduced it to ashes. There was no order from me for it." He adds, however, "I am glad of it, should the enemy march there."

³*Verdadera Idea*, 83; *infra*, 267.

⁴"*A pesar de los esfuerzos de un corto destacamento enemigo que lo defendia.*" One Texan story goes that the Mexicans came to the ford and spoke English, whereupon a boat was sent over to them which they seized (*Texas Almanac*, 1860, 23). But, in fact, they captured a skiff in which a negro had stolen across, and passing a sufficient number of men over in this, surprised the Texans and drove them away from the ferry.

he might succeed in capturing the President and all his cabinet, among them his old enemy, Lorenzo de Zavala. Abandoning, therefore, what was perhaps his original plan of pursuing Houston and forcing a battle near Groce's,¹ he left Sesma with a part of his division, and sealed instructions to Filisola when he should come up, and with the rest of Sesma's force—seven hundred infantry, fifty cavalry, and a six pound cannon—hastened on towards Harrisburg. Reaching that place during the night of April 15th, the Mexicans found it abandoned, and only three printers captured in the office of the *Telegraph and Texas Register* informed them that the officers of the government had departed that morning for Galveston Island, and that Houston was at Groce's with eight hundred men. A reconnoitering party sent out towards Lynchburg reported that settlers in that direction uniformly declared that Houston intended retreating to the Trinity by way of Lynch's Ferry, and Santa Anna, by his own account, formed the plan of intercepting him there. Ordering Filisola, who had now come up with Sesma, to reinforce him with five hundred picked infantry (*infantes escogidos*), he set fire to Harrisburg² and pushed on to overtake his scouts at New Washington—having sent them there, it would seem, for purposes of plunder.

In marked contrast with the impetuosity of Santa Anna was Houston's long delay in the bottom opposite Groce's. He sought to employ his leisure in the better organization of his forces; a new regiment was formed with Sidney Sherman as its colonel, and numerous promotions were made in consequence. A medical staff also was created, and specific duties assigned to each of the six or eight physicians with the army. But the troops looked askance at the non-combative policy of their commander, and, so far from discipline's being promoted by these changes and the long halt, almost open mutiny was the result. The belief became general, in fact, that Houston desired to avoid a conflict altogether, and that his

¹*Verdadera Idea*, 83—" * * * nada mas conveniente que perseguirlo y batirlo, antes de que pudiera reponerse."

²Santa Anna declares the town was already burning when he arrived, and that the printers told him it had caught by accident (*Verdadera Idea*, 84; but see Delgado's account (*infra*, 289).

only movement from the Brazos would be to continue the retreat eastward—most likely towards Nacogdoches. Such a contingency was freely discussed, and officers and men alike boldly canvassed the advisability of electing a more aggressive leader.¹ The civil authorities, too, became uneasy at the continued inactivity of the army, and began to urge General Houston to bestir himself. General Rusk, the Secretary of War, was sent to the field in the hope of inaugurating a more vigorous policy, and President Burnet attempted to sting the commander into action by the information that he was becoming the laughing stock of the enemy, and that the salvation of Texas depended upon his fighting.²

Despite the general dissatisfaction, however, the army was gradually reinforced to almost its size on the Colorado.³ General Rusk arrived on the 4th, and in consultation with Houston on the night of the 11th it was decided to cross to the east side of the river. This operation—rendered very tedious on account of the absence of a ferry boat and the presence of several wagons with their ox teams and some two hundred horses—was completed by means of the steam tug Yellowstone on the 13th, before which time Houston was apprised of the passage of the river by the enemy at Fort Bend.⁴ Orders had already been issued to the scattered detachments at San Felipe, Fort Bend, and Washington to join the main army at Donoho's, a few miles east of Groce's, and thither Houston took his way in the afternoon of the 14th, the difficulties of his march being increased by the addition to his train on the 11th of the "Twin

¹*Infra*, 282, 302, 311, 331.

²*Texas Almanac*, 1860, 59-60; *infra*, 330.

³Rusk to Burnet, April 6, 1836 (Copy),—Archives of Texas; *Proclamation* of President Burnet, April 6, 1836 (MS. copy),—Archives of Texas.

Rusk says: "I find the army in fine spirits, ready and anxious to measure arms with the enemy; the army are about fifteen hundred strong, though not all at this point. Some are at San Felipe, and I doubt not you have, before this, heard of Captain Wily Martin being stationed with a small force at Fort Bend." Burnet says: "Houston now has an army of fifteen hundred men on the west side of the Brazos." Houston himself declared (Houston to Thomas, April 13, 1836, in Yoakum, II, 496-97) that his total force in camp on the 11th was only 523 men.

⁴Houston to Thomas, April 13, 1836, in Yoakum, II, 496-97.

Sisters," two six pound cannon presented to Texas by the people of Cincinnati.

At Donoho's Baker and Martin came up, both of the opinion that this was only another subterfuge of the commander-in-chief's to avoid the enemy, and very much disgusted. The latter, according to Houston's account, refused to fall into line with his company, and was ordered to hasten to Robbins' Ferry on the Trinity to protect the families crossing there from the Indians.¹ The whole army, in fact, was in doubt of Houston's plan, and the belief was quite common that he intended falling back as far as Nacogdoches; in which case the general sentiment favored the election of a new leader.² The road to Harrisburg diverged from the one to Nacog-

¹*Texas Almanac*, 1860, 24, *infra*, 321. Yoakum, Bancroft and Brown all follow this account; but Dr. Labadie (*infra*, 312) gives another version. He says that Martin reported at Donoho's alone, explaining that his company had disbanded to look after their own families, in the belief that Houston intended retiring to Nacogdoches. This seems the more likely, for Martin, who was anxious to fight, would scarcely have been willing to turn aside to the Trinity, when he knew the enemy had gone in the direction of Harrisburg. Moseley Baker, however, writing in 1844, said that after the battle of San Jacinto "Wiley Martin's company was within fifty miles."

²*Infra*, 302, 312.

Colonel R. M. Coleman says (*Houston Displayed*—Pamphlet in the Austin Papers) he informed Houston that, "an attempt to take the left hand road at Roberts' would * * * result in the disorganization of the army; that another would be called to the command." Houston's correspondence while in camp at Groce's, however, does not indicate that he thought of further retreat to any other point than Harrisburg: writing to General Rusk on March 31st (in Yoakum, II, 487), he says, "I have the honor to report to you my arrival at this point, * * *. It is the best and nearest route to Harrisburg, or the Bay, at which I could have struck the Brazos." To David Thomas he wrote on April 13th (in Yoakum, II, 496-97): "I would at once have fallen back on Harrisburg, but a wish to allay the panic that prevailed, induced me to stop at the Brazos, contrary to my views of military operations." And on the same day he wrote to Colonel Nathaniel Robbins (in Yoakum, II, 497-98): "You are hereby ordered and commanded to seize all arms and guns * * * as may be useful to the army, * * * holding them subject to the orders of the government. You will arrest all *deserters* from the army, and pass them over to commands on their march to the army." Though this letter does not show where Colonel Robbins was located, Labadie tells us (*Texas*

doches a short distance from McCurley's, some fifteen miles east of Donoho's,¹ and it was felt that here the die would be cast. There was probably considerable relief among the men, therefore, when, instead of an attempt to lead them towards Nacogdoches, they were allowed without opposition to keep the road to Harrisburg.²

The hypothesis that Houston's plan was to retreat to Nacogdoches, or perhaps to the Sabine, had at this time probably little to support it beyond his apparent reluctance to face the enemy, and the known fact that there was a large body of United States troops at Fort Jessup, near Natchitoches in Louisiana, whose protection from both Mexicans and Indians many relied upon, in case the worst came, and Texas had to be temporarily abandoned. But subsequent knowledge of the sympathy of General Gaines, who commanded these troops, and of the attitude of President Jackson towards the Texas question has, it is sometimes fondly contended, clearly proved that Houston's purpose throughout the campaign was to draw Santa Anna to the Sabine, where it was hoped that he might inadvertently offer General Gaines an excuse for taking up the war and establishing a protectorate of the United States over Texas.³

Almanac, 1859, 46) that he was on the Trinity at the ferry bearing his name; the inference seems plain, therefore, that Houston did not intend passing that point. And finally, the settlers around New Washington told Almonte that Houston was going to retire to the Trinity by way of Lynchburg (*infra*, 268).

¹*Infra*, 302, 312.

²Houston, Kuykendall, and Labadie (*infra*, 321, 302, 313) agree that the army took the Harrisburg road without any orders being given; Calder (*infra*, 336) thinks they were commanded to take the Harrisburg road; while Coleman and others claim that Houston was ordered to Harrisburg by General Rusk.

³*Texas Almanac*, 1860, 61-62; *infra*, 331-32; Anson Jones: *Republic of Texas*, 83.

President Jackson's private position in regard to Texas four years earlier may be gathered from the following extract (Jackson to Butler, February 25, 1832,—Austin Papers). Having heard an erroneous report of an insurrection in Texas early in 1832, he wrote to Anthony Butler, United States

As a matter of fact, some negotiations were made to enlist the support of these forces; but they were made by the civil government and the citizens of Nacogdoches, and it is doubtful whether Houston at the time knew anything about them.¹ The following letter from the Secretary of State, Sam P. Carson,² gives the first suggestion of these overtures:

"His Excellency David G. Burnet.³

"12 o'clock. News—good news.

*"I have just heard through a source in which Judge Hardin has confidence that a company or battalion of U. S. troops left Fort Jessup eight or ten days since, crossed the Sabine and were marching towards the Nesches. I believe it to be true. Gen. Gaines is there and doubtless my letter by Parmer had the desired effect. Jackson will protect the neutral ground, and the beauty of it is, he claims to the Nesches as neutral ground. I should like his protection that far at present. If we are successful, we can hereafter negotiate and regulate boundaries. This news, just arrived, has infused new life into people here, and be assured I will keep the ball rolling. * * **

"CARSON."

Chargé d'Affaires in Mexico: *"* * ** The present resources of Mexico will not be competent to reconquer and put down this insurrection and regain the country, if once lost, and a government composed of all kindred and tongues on our border, plundering and murdering our good citizens at will, and exciting the Indians to make war upon us, and on our borders,—this may compel us, in self-defense, to seize that country by force and establish a regular government *there* over it. * * * Therefore it is we want to obtain a cession of that country for a fair consideration, to prevent this very unpleasant emergency *that would* compel us to seize that country on principles of real necessity, and self-defense, *being* well aware that Mexico cannot prevent Texas becoming independent of her. * * * It has even been charged (Robert Mayo: *Political Sketches of Eight Years in Washington*, 117-29) that Houston came to Texas, after a semi-official understanding with Jackson in 1830, to stir up a rebellion and either found an independent republic or enable the United States to seize the territory. And strange to say, this wild story is credited by both Parton (*Life of Andrew Jackson*, III, 654-57) and Sumner (*Andrew Jackson*, 354).

¹See *infra*, 255, note 3.

²Yoakum (II, 118) miscalls him Secretary of the Navy.

³Copy (no date)—Archives of Texas.

The letter bears no date, but was certainly written in the earlier part of April, probably on the 4th.¹

By way, as he would perhaps have expressed it, of "keeping the ball rolling," Carson pushed on to Fort Jessup—officially, it is presumed, since he was still Secretary of State—and tried the efficacy of a personal appeal to General Gaines. His formal report to the President and cabinet gives the result of the interview, together with some other interesting information:

"NACHITOCHEs, April 14, 1836.

"*To his Excellency David G. Burnet and the Cabinet of the Republic of Texas.*"²

"GENTLEMEN: On my arrival here last night I met with Gen'l Gaines and have had with him a full and *satisfactory* conversation. His position at present is a delicate one, and requires at his hands the most cautious movements. The object of the concentration of forces at Jessup is to protect the frontier and neutral ground, also to keep the Indians in check and repress savage aggressions. This he is bound to do in fulfillment of treaty stipulations between the government of the United States and Mexico. * * * Gen'l Gaines * * * issued an order to prepare thirteen companies to march this evening to the Sabine, with two field pieces with seventy-five rounds for each and thirty-five rounds for the infantry—also twelve days provisions, etc.

"I herewith send you a copy of his requisition upon the government of Louisiana to furnish a brigade of mounted volunteers:"³

¹On April 4th, Carson wrote to Burnet from Liberty (copy in the Archives of Texas) saying: "* * * Never till I reached Trinity did I despond, I will not yet say I *despair*. If Houston has retreated or been whipped, nothing can save the people from themselves. * * * If Houston retreats, the flying people must be covered in their escape [Yoakum, II, 119, misquotes this: "may be covered," etc.]. * * * Nothing can stop the people unless Houston is successful. * * *" I think it likely that the letter above was a postscript to this; at any rate, his reference to Judge Hardin shows that it was written while he was still at Liberty, and as we shall soon see, he was at Fort Jessup by the 13th.

²Copy—Archives of Texas.

³The requisition (MS. copy in Archives of Texas), dated April 8th, asked Governor White, of Louisiana, for two or three battalions of volunteers,—

a similar request has been made to the governors of Tennessee, Mississippi, and Alabama, requiring, however, only a battalion of the latter in consequence of the Florida war. He will have in a few days (say 20 or 30) from 7 to 8,000 men with him. You will perceive that we *cannot use Indian auxiliaries* unless in *self defense*. The treaty referred to requires the United States to put such conduct down. * * *

"I cannot state positively what Gen'l Gaines may do, but one thing I think I may say, that should he be satisfied of the fact that the Mexicans have incited *any Indians*, who are under the control of the United States, to commit depredations on *either* side of the line, he will doubtless view it as a violation of the treaty referred to, * * * and be assured that he will maintain the honor of his country and punish the aggressor, be he who he may. Now the *fact is* that the Mexicans have already with them a number of the Caddoes, some Cherokees, and Indians of other tribes which are under the protection and control of the United States. It is only necessary then to *satisfy* Gen'l Gaines of the fact, in which case, be assured he will act with energy and efficiency. The proofs will, I have no doubt, be abundant by the time he reaches the Sabine; in which case he will cross and move upon the aggressors. * * *

"Yours,

"SAM P. CARSON."

"P. S. I have written Gen'l Houston and requested him to forward the communication to you."

General Gaines did, indeed—upon information furnished him mainly, however, by the Committee of Safety and private citizens of Nacogdoches—advance to the Sabine with thirteen companies; but finding there that the Indians had killed but one man, and that not in such a manner as to indicate a "*spirit of general hostility* towards the inhabitants," he contented himself with halting on the

as many to be mounted as possible,—stating that General Gaines had been informed upon reliable authority that many United States Indians had gone over to the Texas side; that he feared an Indian war, knowing that it would extend to both sides of the boundary; that he intended to advance into Texas and make the Indians return to their reservations; and, finally, that he asked troops of Governor White, because he had not time to await reinforcements and instructions from the President.

left bank of the river and sending a warning message to the Cherokee chief Bowles.¹ That he was in eager sympathy with the Texans and was possessed of an almost feverish desire to help them is certain, but the simultaneous reports that Santa Anna had been defeated and captured at San Jacinto and that "the Cherokee and other Indians in Texas from our side of the national boundary-line are disposed to return to their villages, plant corn, and be peaceable,"² relieved him alike of the necessity and the pretext. Nevertheless, he remained encamped on the Sabine until the fall of 1836, keeping a vigilant eye upon Texas, and bristling at every fresh rumor of renewed aggressiveness on the part of Mexico.

Whether Houston ever received Carson's letter, informing him of the movements of General Gaines is questionable.³ At any rate,—either voluntarily or constrained by the mutinous sentiment of his troops—he proceeded to Harrisburg, arriving opposite its site in the forenoon of the 18th. The Texans rested here until the following morning, and during their halt two couriers were captured, bearing dispatches from Filisola and the Mexican government to Santa Anna, from which Houston first definitely learned that the latter was leading the troops to the east of him.

On the morning of the 19th both Houston and Rusk made encouraging addresses to the soldiers, declaring that they were now going to fall upon the enemy, and urging them to avenge their comrades of the Alamo and Goliad. After leaving in camp here his baggage train and some hundred and fifty or two hundred sick and inefficient, with seventy-five men under Major McNutt to guard them,⁴

¹Gaines to Secretary of War, April 20, 1836, in *House Exec. Doc. 351, 25th Cong., 2nd Sess.*, pp. 771-73.

²*Ibid.*, 783.

³So far as I know, Houston never mentioned the receipt of it, though in later controversies he might have used it to good effect. The inference must follow that either it never came into his hands, or that having it, he still preferred, as a matter of policy, to tacitly disclaim any knowledge whatever of General Gaines's operations.

⁴I follow here the account of J. H. Kuykendall (*infra*, 303, note), who was a member of the guard; W. P. Zuber, also a member of the guard,

Houston marched down the left bank of Buffalo bayou, and crossing below the mouth of Sims's bayou, pressed on across Vince's bridge towards the San Jacinto. The march was kept up till nearly midnight, when the exhausted men were allowed to rest for a few hours. At daybreak, however, they were again put in motion, and when, about six o'clock, a halt was made for breakfast and the scouts came galloping up and reported that they had discovered the advance guard of the enemy returning from New Washington, the half-cooked food was bolted down and a hurried march continued to Lynch's Ferry, where they arrived early in the forenoon.

Almost immediately upon their arrival at the ferry, the enemy's advance guard was seen approaching, and the Texans fell back about half a mile, to establish themselves in a live-oak grove on the bank of the bayou. In front of them, and extending to the right towards Vince's bayou, was a prairie, perhaps two miles in width, bounded on the south by a marsh; to the left was the San Jacinto river; and at their back, Buffalo bayou.¹ Into this prairie the Mexicans soon filed from the direction of New Washington—which they had just burned—and formed their camp near the southern edge.

Early in the afternoon Santa Anna advanced his artillery—one six-pounder²—under cover of the cavalry, and fired a shot at the Texans, but this being immediately returned from the "Twin Sisters," the cannon was hastily withdrawn to the protection of a cluster of timber, from which it continued to be fired at intervals throughout the afternoon.³ A few hours later, Colonel Sherman,

says (*Texas Almanac*, 1861, 59; *infra*, 339) the whole number in the camp, sick included, was about 200; R. M. Coleman says (*Houston Displayed*, 20): "About 300 men were left under the command of Major McNutt for the purpose of guarding the sick and the baggage." Labadie (*Texas Almanac*, 1859, 49) says: "Dr Phelps having been left to attend to some ten or twelve who were sick with the diarrhœa; the Red Land company, consisting of some forty men, also remaining to guard the camp." And Bancroft (II, 253, note 34) thinks Labadie's figures the most reasonable.

¹Williams: *Sam Houston and the War of Independence in Texas*, 194-95.

²This is the Mexican account; Houston—and most Texan writers after him—calls it a twelve-pounder. Calder believes it was a nine-pounder.

³Labadie: *Texas Almanac*, 1859, 51.

according to his own account, asked and obtained permission to advance with mounted volunteers and attempt to capture it.¹ But he got into a rather lively skirmish with the Mexican cavalry, creating a good deal of excitement in the Texan camp thereby, and returned with two men seriously wounded, one of whom afterwards died. Nothing else of interest occurred during the rest of the afternoon.²

On the morning of the 21st, General Cos arrived with some four hundred men, and increased Santa Anna's strength to eleven hundred and fifty or twelve hundred.³ This gave the latter considera-

¹*Defence of Gen. Sydney Sherman, etc.*, 5. Sherman's words are: "The enemy's only field piece was in sight from our camp, and had been annoying us during the day. Late in the evening, I proposed to General Houston to allow me to call for volunteers, and capture their gun. He consented, and proposed himself to order out Colonel Millard's regulars to support me, and gave orders to that effect." For Houston's version, see *infra*, 322.

²In the light of a subsequent event—the arrival of reinforcements to Santa Anna on the 21st—it would have been better for General Houston to fight the battle of San Jacinto on the 20th; but his delay was perhaps natural. The army had made forced marches from Harrisburg, had slept little the previous night, and the men were necessarily greatly fatigued; a complete rest for them, therefore, might well have been considered desirable. It is by no means certain, either, that, as has been charged, the dispatches captured at Harrisburg gave the Texans definite information that Santa Anna was expecting reinforcements, though they did, perhaps, afford ground for suspecting it. Santa Anna says (*Verdadera Idea*, 92) the dispatches informed them of his presence in New Washington, of the number composing the section that was advancing by that route, and of the position of his other forces ("* * * *que yo me hallaba en New Washington, el número de que se componia la seccion que expedicionaba por aquel rumbo, y la situacion de nuestras otras fuerzas*"). However, see *infra*, 304, 338.

³Texas historians generally, following Houston's official report of the battle of San Jacinto, place this number much higher, varying it from sixteen hundred down to thirteen hundred men. Houston says (Report, 3—published also in Brown, II, 18-23; Yoakum, II, 498-502; Kennedy, II, 222-27; and elsewhere) concerning the whole number of the enemy, Cos came up, "increasing their effective force to upwards of 1500 men"; and again, after the battle, he reports, "The enemy's loss was 630 killed * * * wounded, 208, * * * prisoners, 730." But all Mexican authority, accepted by Yoakum (II, 122) and Bancroft (II, 250), agrees that Santa Anna left Fort Bend with no more than 750 men,—though Brown (II, 11), counting, perhaps, Sesma's whole division, a part of which remained

ble advantage over Houston, who had but seven hundred and eighty-three men,¹ and the Texans became apprehensive that in consequence their general would again try to avoid a battle and continue the retreat across the San Jacinto. As time passed and no preparation was made to attack, their fears, they thought, were verified, and the old question of deposing the commander-in-chief was revived.²

Some time during the forenoon Deaf Smith left camp to destroy Vince's bridge³—not, as is quite popularly believed, for the purpose of making the approaching conflict a death struggle, but to obstruct the march of additional Mexican reinforcements.⁴ And about midday Houston consented to a council of war in which it was decided to attack the enemy at daybreak the following morning; but this decision being rather sullenly received by the majority of the army, the question was submitted directly to them through their respective captains, and settled in favor of immediate attack.⁵

About three o'clock in the afternoon of April 21st, therefore, Houston gave the order to prepare for action. The line having

on the Brazos, says he "had with him between eleven and twelve hundred." And Texan writers almost uniformly put Cos's reinforcements at 500 about 100 of whom, as we know from both Mexican (*Verdadera Idea*, 87; Filisola: *Memorias para la Historia de la Guerra de Tejas*, II, 473) and Texan authority (*infra*, 303) were left at Harrisburg. Houston himself, unless he counted the wounded twice, disposed of only 1,360, and it is well established that scarcely 40 escaped.

¹Houston's Report, 3.

²Labadie, Baker (*infra*, 285, 315); *Houston Displayed*, 25-26.

³Bitter controversy wages over this point; Houston and his adherents maintaining that the plan originated with him, while others assert that it was only with the greatest difficulty that he was induced to give it his consent.

⁴The whole episode of Vince's bridge has received an emphasis from the historians which is probably far beyond its real importance. The bayou does not exceed three miles in length, and could have been "headed" by either reinforcements or fugitives with the loss of but a few hours at the most.

⁵*Infra*, 316, 324, 337.

been formed, an advance was made upon the enemy which took them almost completely by surprise, most of the officers—Santa Anna included—being asleep. The Mexicans made one confused effort to sustain the charge, then broke and fled in utter panic. The Texans pursuing, the rout became a slaughter which only stopped at nightfall,—though the battle proper lasted perhaps not more than thirty minutes. Practically the entire Mexican force was either killed or captured, and of the Texans, two were killed and twenty-three wounded—six mortally.¹ The following day Santa Anna was captured and brought into camp, when an armistice was arranged between him and Houston providing for a cessation of hostilities until a permanent peace could be negotiated. And in the meantime Filisola was to fall back from Fort Bend to San Antonio, and cause Urrea to do the same from Victoria.

From San Jacinto Santa Anna was taken with the other prisoners to Velasco, and there on May 14 the treaty of that name was arranged between himself and the government of Texas. The public treaty provided, among other things, for a cessation of hostilities; the immediate withdrawal of the Mexican forces beyond the Rio Grande; the restoration of property taken by the Mexicans; and, finally, that the Texan army should not approach nearer than five leagues to the retreating Mexicans. At the same time a secret agreement was made with the captive dictator in which the government promised, in return for his solemn pledge to use his influence in securing an acknowledgment of Texan independence, to immediately liberate him and send him to Vera Cruz.²

On May 26th, General Filisola ratified the public treaty and fulfilled its provisions by abandoning Texas; but through the interference of the enraged army the Texan government was compelled to break the secret articles, and Santa Anna was detained a prisoner until late in 1836, when he was sent to Washington, D. C. Quite naturally he felt himself absolved from his promise to labor for Texan independence. And though this was practically established

¹Houston's Report (*infra*, 263). For additional accounts of the battle, both Texan and Mexican, see *infra*, 270-71; 290-91; 340-43.

²Both treaties are published in full in Yoakum, II, 526-28; and Brown, II, 62-65. The public treaty is also published in Kennedy, II, 233-35; and Foote, II, 318-20.

by the battle of San Jacinto, it was not until the settlement of the Mexican War by the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo in 1848 that Mexico formally renounced her claims to Texas.

DOCUMENTARY SELECTIONS RELATIVE TO THE CAMPAIGN.

I.

Houston's Report of the Battle.

[The original of this report has been lost, but numerous copies of it have been published. The first was issued in pamphlet form from New Orleans in 1836. Other copies may be found in Kennedy, II, 222-27; Yoakum, II, 498-502; Brown, II, 18-23; Dewees's *Letters from Texas*, 194-200; Linn's *Reminiscences of Fifty Years in Texas*, 203-9; and probably elsewhere. A Spanish translation occurs in Caro's *Verdadera Idea*, 106-13.]

HEADQUARTERS OF THE ARMY,

SAN JACINTO, April 25, 1836.

To His Excellency David G. Burnet, President of the Republic of Texas.

SIR: I regret extremely that my situation, since the battle of the 21st, has been such as to prevent my rendering you my official report of the same, previous to this time.

I have the honor to inform you, that on the evening of the 18th inst., after a forced march of fifty-five miles, which was effected in two days and a half, the army arrived opposite Harrisburg. That evening a courier of the enemy was taken, from whom I learned that General Santa Anna, with one division of choice troops, had marched in the direction of Lynch's ferry on the San Jacinto, burning Harrisburg as he passed down. The army was ordered to be in readiness to march early on the next morning. The main body effected a crossing over Buffalo bayou, below Harrisburg, on the morning of the 19th, having left the baggage, the sick, and a sufficient camp guard in the rear. We continued the march throughout the night, making but one halt in the prairie for a short time, and without refreshments. At daylight we resumed the line of march, and in a short distance our scouts encountered those of the enemy, and we received information that General Santa Anna was at New

Washington, and would that day take up the line of march for Anahuac, crossing at Lynch's Ferry. The Texian army halted within half a mile of the ferry in some timber and were engaged in slaughtering beeves, when the army of Santa Anna was discovered to be approaching in battle array, having been encamped at Clopper's point, eight miles below. Disposition was immediately made of our forces, and preparation for his reception. He took position with his infantry and artillery in the center, occupying an island of timber, his cavalry covering the left flank. The artillery, consisting of one double fortified medium brass twelve-pounder, then opened on our encampment. The infantry, in column, advanced with the design of charging our lines, but were repulsed by a discharge of grape and canister from our artillery, consisting of two six-pounders. The enemy had occupied a piece of timber within rifle shot of the left wing of our army, from which an occasional interchange of small arms took place between the troops, until the enemy withdrew to a position on the bank of the San Jacinto, about three-quarters of a mile from our encampment, and commenced fortifications. A short time before sunset, our mounted men, about eighty-five in number, under the special command of Colonel Sherman, marched out for the purpose of reconnoitering the enemy. Whilst advancing they received a volley from the left of the enemy's infantry, and after a sharp rencounter with their cavalry, in which ours acted extremely well and performed some feats of daring chivalry, they retired in good order, having had two men severely wounded and several horses killed. In the meantime, the infantry under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Millard, and Colonel Burleson's regiment with the artillery, had marched out for the purpose of covering the retreat of the cavalry, if necessary. All then fell back in good order to our encampment about sunset, and remained without any ostensible action until the 21st, at half past three o'clock, taking the first refreshment that they had enjoyed for two days. The enemy in the meantime extended the right flank of their infantry so as to occupy the extreme point of a skirt of timber on the bank of the San Jacinto, and secured their left by a fortification about five feet high, constructed of packs and baggage, leaving an opening in the center of the breastwork in which their artillery was placed, their cavalry upon their left wing.

About nine o'clock on the morning of the 21st, the enemy were

reinforced by 500 choice troops, under the command of General Cos, increasing their effective force to upwards of 1,500 men, whilst our aggregate force for the field numbered 783. At half past three o'clock in the evening, I ordered the officers of the Texian army to parade their respective commands, having in the meantime ordered the bridge on the only road communicating with the Brazos, distant eight miles from our encampment, to be destroyed, thus cutting off all possibility of escape. Our troops paraded with alacrity and spirit, and were anxious for the contest. Their conscious disparity in numbers seemed only to increase their enthusiasm and confidence and heighten their anxiety for the conflict. Our situation afforded me the opportunity for making the arrangements preparatory to the attack, without exposing our designs to the enemy. The first regiment, commanded by Colonel Burleson, was assigned the center. The second regiment, under the command of Colonel Sherman, formed the left wing of the army. The artillery under the special command of Colonel George W. Hockley, Inspector-General, was placed on the right of the first regiment; and four companies of infantry, under the command of Lieut.-Col. Henry Millard, sustained the artillery upon the right. Our cavalry, sixty-one in number, commanded by Colonel Mirabeau B. Lamar, whose gallant and daring conduct on the previous day had attracted the admiration of his comrades and called him to that station, placed on our extreme right, completed our line. Our cavalry was first dispatched to the front of the enemy's left, for the purpose of attracting their notice, whilst an extensive island of timber afforded us an opportunity of concentrating our forces and deploying from that point, agreeably to the previous design of the troops. Every evolution was performed with alacrity, the whole advancing rapidly in line and through an open prairie, without any protection whatever for our men. The artillery advanced and took station within two hundred yards of the enemy's breastwork, and commenced an effective fire with grape and canister.

Colonel Sherman with his regiment, having commenced the action upon our left wing, the whole line at the center and on the right, advancing in double-quick time, rung the war cry, "Remember the Alamo!" received the enemy's fire and advanced within point blank shot before a piece was discharged from our lines. Our

lines advanced without a halt, until they were in possession of the woodland and the breastwork, the right wing of Burleson's and the left of Millard's taking possession of the breastwork; our artillery having gallantly charged up within seventy yards of the enemy's cannon, when it was taken by our troops. The conflict lasted about eighteen minutes from the time of close action until we were in possession of the enemy's encampment, taking one piece of cannon (loaded), four stands of colors, all their camp equipage, stores and baggage. Our cavalry had charged and routed that of the enemy upon the right, and given pursuit to the fugitives, which did not cease until they arrived at the bridge which I have mentioned before, Captain Karnes, always among the foremost in danger, commanding the pursuers. The conflict in the breastwork lasted but a few moments; many of the troops encountered hand to hand, and not having the advantage of bayonets on our side, our riflemen used pieces as war clubs, breaking many of them off at the breech. The rout commenced at half past four, and the pursuit by the main army continued until twilight. A guard was then left in charge of the enemy's encampment, and our army returned with their killed and wounded. In the battle our loss was two killed and twenty-three wounded, six of them mortally. The enemy's loss was 630 killed, among whom was one general officer, four colonels, two lieutenant-colonels, five captains, twelve lieutenants. Wounded: 208, of which were: five colonels, three lieutenant-colonels, two second lieutenant-colonels, seven captains, one cadet. Prisoners, 730; President-General Santa Anna, General Cos, four colonels, aides to General Santa Anna, and the colonel of the Guerrero battalion are included in the number. General Santa Anna was not taken until the 22nd, and General Cos on yesterday, very few having escaped.

About six hundred muskets, three hundred sabres and two hundred pistols have been collected since the action. Several hundred mules and horses were taken, and near twelve thousand dollars in specie. For several days previous to the action our troops were engaged in forced marches, exposed to excessive rains, and the additional inconvenience of extremely bad roads, illy supplied with rations and clothing; yet, amid every difficulty, they bore up with cheerfulness and fortitude, and performed their marches with spirit and alacrity. There was no murmuring.

Previous to and during the action, my staff evinced every disposition to be useful, and were actively engaged in their duties. In the conflict I am assured they demeaned themselves in such manner as proved them worthy members of the Army of San Jacinto. Colonel Thos. J. Rusk, Secretary of War, was on the field. For weeks his services had been highly beneficial to the army; in battle he was on the left wing, where Colonel Sherman's command first encountered and drove the enemy. He bore himself gallantly, and continued his efforts and activity, remaining with the pursuers until resistance ceased.

I have the honor of transmitting herewith a list of all the officers and men who were engaged in the action, which I respectfully request may be published as an act of justice to the individuals. For the commanding General to attempt discrimination as to the conduct of those who commanded in the action, or those who were commanded, would be impossible. Our success in the action is conclusive proof of such daring intrepidity and courage; every officer and man proved himself worthy of the cause in which he battled, while the triumph received a lustre from the humanity which characterized their conduct after victory, and richly entitles them to the admiration and gratitude of their general. Nor should we withhold the tribute of our grateful thanks from that Being who rules the destinies of nations, and has in the time of greatest need enabled us to arrest a powerful invader, whilst devastating our country.

I have the honor to be, with high consideration,

Your obedient servant,

SAM HOUSTON, Commander-in-Chief.

II.

Extract from Santa Anna's Report.

[Santa Anna's report of the San Jacinto campaign to the Minister of War and Marine is dated March 11, 1837. The copy from which this is translated is published in Ramon Caro's *Verdadera Idea de la Primera Campaña de Tejas*, 78-106. An almost complete copy may also be found in Filisola's *Memorias para la Historia de la Guerra de Tejas*, II, 453-70. Though extracts of the report have from time to time been translated, no

complete translation has ever appeared, I believe; nor is this one complete. The greater part of what follows (the amount being indicated by a footnote) was furnished me by Miss Shirley R. Green, of Palestine, Texas; the remainder is taken from Maillard's *History of the Republic of Texas*, 107-111.

Describing the campaign from the Mexican point of view, Santa Anna has this to say upon two disputed questions:

A Texan soldier captured at San Felipe declared that the town had been burned by order of General Houston.

At Harrisburg he was told that Houston would retire to the Trinity by way of Lynchburg, and he determined to intercept him.]

* * * On the third day I overtook on the Guadalupe river, across from the burnt village of Gonzales, the battalions of engineers and sappers from Guadalajara, which, under the command of Colonel Agustin Amat, were marching to reinforce General Ramirez y Sesma's division.

Two days' march to the rear Lieutenant-Colonel Pedro Ampudia followed with the artillery, implements and tools, knapsacks (*sacos a tierra*), ammunition and supplies for the same division.

As the Guadalupe was swollen, it was not possible that the troops and train referred to should cross the river with the necessary dispatch, a delay of three or four days being imperative. * * * I hastened my march, and on the fifth day arrived at Atascocita ford on said river [Colorado]. I met on the other side the division of General Ramirez y Sesma, and he informed me that the enemy having retired toward the Brazos, a chance had been given him to cross without opposition; and observing that there was only one canoe, I recommended to the permanent battalion of Aldama, under command of General Adrian Woll, the construction of rafts in order to facilitate the march of the section left with General Filisola. Believing General Gaona to be on the march toward San Felipe de Austin, according to his answer from Bastrop, a town located on the east bank of the Colorado, 30 leagues to the west of San Felipe de Austin, and General Urrea towards Brazoria, located on the west bank of the Brazos river, and twenty-five leagues to the south of the said San Felipe, I continued on the sixth with the division of General Sesma as far as the San Bernard creek, and at daybreak on the seventh arrived at San Felipe de Austin. This town, situated on the west bank of the Brazos, no longer existed, because the enemy had burned it and sent the inhabitants into the

interior, as at Gonzales. An armed Anglo-American was captured among the ruins and he declared: *that he belonged to a detachment of 150 men, located on the other side of the river for the purpose of defending the ford; that the towns were burned by the order of their general, Samuel Houston, in order to cut the Mexicans off from supplies; that Houston was to be found in a thicket near the crossing of the Gross [Groce's] 15 leagues¹ distant on our left with only 800 men remaining to him; and that his intention was to retire to the Trinity river, in case the Mexicans crossed the Brazos.*

Our troops, seen at a distance by the detachment mentioned, were fired upon from a redoubt. * * * I immediately reconnoitered the bank of the river, right and left, for two leagues, hunting a ford by which to make a surprise by night, but all effort was fruitless. The breadth and depth of the river are great, it was swollen, and not even a small canoe was to be found. The various rivers which traverse that country present great obstacles to an invading army: they are full, and have frequent freshets in the spring, caused by the melted snows from the mountains.² * * *

On the 8th I ordered the construction of two flat bottomed boats, for which it was necessary to bring wood from distant points. Even after getting to work, ten or twelve days, it was estimated, would be necessary to complete them, because of the lack of carpenters; and three or four more to put them in condition for use. The loss of this time seemed to me an irreparable evil, the ending of the campaign before the rains being so important, in consideration of the condition of the army of the republic, as I shall soon be able to explain to the nation.

General Filisola did not arrive at the Colorado, and General Gaona, who was to join us, did not announce when he would do so. The condition of the hostile chief was not unknown to me. Intimidated by the successive triumphs of our army; terrified by the sight of rapid movements over ground, which by nature opposes obstacles almost insurmountable, and suffering desertion and want, which impelled him to seek safety by the retreat undertaken, nothing were easier than to follow and destroy him before he could recover himself.

¹Really about fifteen miles.—E. C. B.

²It is hardly necessary to say that this is an error.—E. C. B.

We were unable to cross the Brazos at San Felipe, and in view of such previous reasons, I resolved to make a reconnaissance for ten or twelve leagues along the right bank, whose side (*flanco*) I judged to be covered by General Urrea's division, which, as I have indicated, was directed upon Brazoria. To that end I marched from San Felipe on the 9th with 500 grenadiers and scouts and 50 horse, leaving General Ramirez y Sesma with the rest of his division, which could reinforce that of General Gaona at any time. After three days of laborious marching and countermarching, during one of which I made on foot a journey of five leagues, I got possession of the Thompson ford, in spite of the courage of a scant detachment of the enemy which defended it, and which succeeded in wounding only one grenadier and one bugler. By this extraordinary movement, unforeseen by the enemy, I came into possession of a good flat boat and two skiffs. * * * General Ramirez y Sesma, according to my orders, joined me on the 13th. General Gaona did not appear.

Through some neighboring settlers, one of them a Mexican, I ascertained that in the village of Harrisburg, about twelve leagues distant, on the right bank of Buffalo bayou, there was located the so-called governor of Texas; Don Lorenzo Zavala; and the other leaders of the revolution, and that their capture would be certain if troops could be rapidly marched against them. The news was important. * * * I sent across the river the grenadiers and sharpshooters (*Cazadores*), with whom I had taken the ford, together with the permanent battalion of Matamoras, the dragoons of my escort, a six-pound gun, and 50 boxes of musket cartridges, and undertook the march to Harrisburg with this force on the evening of the 14th. I left General Ramirez y Sesma at Thompson's with the rest of his division, and left sealed instructions for General Filisola.

At night on the 15th I entered Harrisburg, lighted by several burning houses, and found only a Frenchman and two Americans in a printing house. They said that *the so-called President, Vice-President, and other persons of authority had set out at midday in a steamboat for the island of Galveston; * * * that the fire which we saw was accidental, they having been unable to extinguish it; that the families had abandoned their homes by the command of*

General Houston; and that he was at the pass of Gross with 800 men, and two four-pound guns (del calibre de á cuatro).

The capture of the leaders of the rebellion being frustrated, and knowing the rendezvous of the enemy, and his strength, in order the better to concert my succeeding movements, I ordered that Colonel Juan Almonte with the fifty dragoons of my escort reconnoiter as far as the pass of Lynchburg and New Washington. From the latter place the said colonel communicated to me, among other things, *that various settlers found in their houses had uniformly asserted that General Houston was retiring towards the Trinity by the pass of Lynchburg.*

To block this pass for Houston, and to destroy at one blow the armed strength and the hopes of the revolutionists, was too important a thing to let slip. It occurred to me to take the Lynchburg pass before his arrival, and to avail myself of the advantage in position. My first command was directed to reinforcing the section accompanying me, composed of 700 infantry, 50 horse, and one cannon, until it should be superior to the enemy in number, as it already was in discipline; and I ordered General Filisola to countermand the advance of General Cos towards Velasco, which I had advised in my instructions, and to send him to join me at the earliest moment with 500 *picked infantry.*

Colonel Almonte being engaged at the port of New Washington on the shore of Galveston Bay, [awaiting] the enemy's ships that might arrive, and it being at the same time necessary to secure the quantity of supplies that he had captured, I made a journey to that point on the afternoon of the 18th. On my arrival there I found in full view a schooner, which for lack of wind could not get away; I intended to seize it to make use of in due time on the Island of Galveston, but when the skiffs and flatboats, which Colonel Almonte had provided himself with, were made ready, a steamship arrived and opened fire upon him.¹

Early on the morning of the 19th, I sent Captain Barragan, with some dragoons, to a point on the Lynchburg road, three leagues distant from New Washington, in order that he should watch and communicate to me, as speedily as possible, the arrival of Houston: and, on the 20th, at eight o'clock in the morning, he informed me

¹Here ends Miss Green's translation; the balance is taken from Mailard's *History of the Republic of Texas*.—E. C. B.

that Houston had just got to Lynchburg. It was with the greatest joy that all the individuals belonging to the corps, then under my immediate orders, heard the news; and they continued the march, already begun, in the best spirit.

At my arrival, Houston was in possession of a wood on the margin of Buffalo bayou, which, at that point, empties itself into the San Jacinto creek. *His situation rendered it indispensable to fight*; and my troops manifested so much enthusiasm, that I immediately began the battle. Houston answered our firing, but refused to come out of the cover of the wood. I wished to draw him into a field of battle suited to my purpose, and in consequence withdrew about one thousand yards distance, to an eminence affording a favorable position, with abundance of water on my rear, a thick wood on my right, and a large plain on my left. Upon my executing this movement, the enemy's fire increased, particularly that of his artillery, by which Captain Fernando Urriza was wounded. About one hundred cavalry sallied out of the wood, and boldly attacked my escort, which was posted on the left, causing it to fall back for a few moments and wounding a dragoon. I commanded two companies of cazadores to attack them, and they succeeded in repelling them into the wood.

It was now five in the evening, and our troops wanted rest and refreshment, which I permitted them to take. Thus was the remainder of the day spent. We lay on our arms all night, during which I occupied myself in posting my forces to the best advantage, and procuring the construction of a parapet to cover the position of our cannon. I had posted three companies in the wood on our right, the permanent battalion of Matamoras formed our body of battle in the centre, and on our left was placed the cannon, protected by the cavalry, and a column of select companies (*de preferencia*), under the orders of Lieutenant-Colonel Santiago Luelmo, which composed the reserve.

On the 21st, at nine in the morning, General Cos arrived with four hundred men belonging to the battalions of Aldama, Guerrero, Toluca, and Guadalajara, having left one hundred men under the orders of Colonel Muriano Garcia, with their loads in a swampy place, near Harrisburg; and these never joined me. I then saw that my orders had been contravened; for I had asked five hundred select infantry, and they sent me raw recruits, who had joined the

army at San Louis Potosi and Saltillo. I was highly displeased with this act of disobedience, and considered the new reinforcement as trifling, whereas I had before its arrival entertained well-founded hopes of gaining some decisive advantage *with the new succor, which was to have given me the superiority of numbers.* I disposed myself, however, to take advantage of the favorable disposition which I perceived in our soldiers on the arrival of General Cos; but the latter represented to me that having made a forced march in order to reach my camp early, his troops had neither eaten nor slept during twenty-four hours, and that while the baggage was coming up, which it would do within two more hours, it was indispensable to grant some refreshment to the soldiers. I consented to it, but in order to keep a watch over the enemy and protect the said baggage, I posted my escort in a favorable place, reinforcing it with thirty-two infantry, mounted on officer's horses. Hardly one hour had elapsed since that operation, when General Cos begged me, in the name of Don Miguel Aguirre, the commander of the escort, that I would permit his soldiers to water their horses, which had not drunk for twenty-four hours, and let the men take some refreshment. Being moved by the pitiable tone in which this request was made, I consented, commanding at the time that Aguirre and his men should return to occupy their position as soon as they should have satisfied their necessities; and his disobedience to this order concurred to favor the surprise which the enemy effected.

Feeling myself exceedingly fatigued from having spent the whole morning on horseback, and the preceding night without sleep, I lay down under the shade of some trees, while the soldiers were preparing their meal. Calling General Castrillon, who acted as major-general, I recommended him to be watchful and to give me notice of the least movement of the enemy, and also to inform me when the repast of the soldiers would be over, because it was urgent to act in a decisive manner.

I was in a deep sleep when I was awakened by the firing and noise; I immediately perceived we were attacked, and had fallen into frightful disorder. The enemy had surprised our advance posts. One of their wings had driven away the three companies (*de preferencia*) posted in the wood on our right, and from among the trees were now doing much execution with their rifles.

The rest of the enemy's infantry attacked us in front with two pieces of cannon, and their cavalry did the same on our right.

Although the mischief was already done, I thought I could repair it, and with that view sent the battalion of Aldama to reinforce the line of battle formed by that of Matamoras, and organized a column of attack under the orders of Don Manuel Cespedes, composed of the permanent battalion of Guerrero, and the piquets of Toluca and Guadalajara, which moved to the front with the company of Lieutenant-Colonel Luelmo, in order to check the advance of the enemy; but my efforts were vain. The line was abandoned by the two battalions that were covering it; and notwithstanding the fire of our cannon, the two columns were thrown into disorder, Colonel Cespedes being wounded and Colonel Luelmo killed. General Castillon, who ran to and fro to re-establish order in our ranks, fell mortally wounded; and the new recruits threw everything into confusion, breaking their ranks and preventing the veterans from making use of their arms, whilst the enemy was rapidly advancing with loud hurrahs, and in a few minutes obtained a victory which they could not, some hours before, even have dreamed of.

All hopes being lost, and every one flying as fast as he could, I found myself in the greatest danger, when a servant of my aide-de-camp, Colonel Don Juan Bringas, offered me his horse, and with the tenderest and most urging expressions insisted upon my riding off the field. I looked for my escort, and two dragoons, who were hurriedly saddling their horses, told me that their officers and fellow-soldiers had all made their escape. I remembered that General Filisola was only seventeen leagues off, and I took my direction towards him, darting through the enemy's ranks. They pursued me, and after a ride of one league and a half, overtook me on the banks of a large creek, the bridge over which was burned by the enemy *to retard our pursuit*. I alighted from my horse and with much difficulty succeeded in concealing myself in a thicket of dwarf pines. Night coming on, I escaped them, and the hope of reaching the army gave me strength. I crossed the creek with the water up to my breast and continued my route on foot. I found, in a house which had been abandoned, some articles of clothing, which enabled me to change my apparel. At eleven o'clock, a. m., while I was crossing a large plain, my pursuers overtook me again. Such is the history of my capture. On account of my change of apparel, they

did not recognize me, and inquired whether I had seen Santa Anna? To this I answered that he had made his escape; and this answer saved me from assassination, as I have since been given to understand.

By what has been already explained Your Excellency will see at a glance the principal causes of an event which with good reason was a surprise. * * *

III.

Extracts from Moseley Baker's Letter to Houston.¹

[These extracts are taken *passim* from a manuscript copy of the letter made by A. D. Darden, and deposited by Mr. Bowers in the Texas State Library. Nothing is known of the original. Baker's motive is revealed in a sentence: "In my recent canvass for the Senate, you descended from your political elevation and engaged with warmth and zeal against me."

Summary: Houston took no part in bringing on the Texas revolution. Houston's force at Gonzales numbered 500 men.

In the panic of retreat from Gonzales, Houston threw two cannon into the Guadalupe and destroyed much baggage, because there was not sufficient time to collect the baggage animals which were grazing. For the same reason, the picket guard was left unnotified of the retreat (but see *infra*, 294, 318).

At Beason's, on the Colorado, Houston had from 1,500 to 1,700 men, and sent messengers through the country assuring the people that he intended "to whip the enemy on the Colorado." He delayed so long that both officers and men became mutinous in their desire to attack Sesma,

"The MS. is accompanied by the following explanatory letter from John M. Bowers: These pages on the history of Texas were written by Gen. Moseley Baker in the summer of 1844 at Evergreen, his plantation on Galveston Bay, and were at first intended for publication. Subsequent reasons prevented this, and in the spring of 1845 he gave the manuscript, together with a number of old newspapers and other documents, to Col., then Dr., Ashbel Smith. What became of these papers I do not know. A few years before Dr. Smith's death he sent the manuscript to Mrs. Fanny A. D. Darden, of this town, the only surviving child of Gen. Baker, and shortly before her death she gave it to me. I know it to have been written in 1844, as I was a near neighbor of the general's, and saw him write the greater portion of it.

(Signed)

JOHN M. BOWERS.

Columbus, Texas, 8th December, 1894.

on the opposite bank with 700 men. Houston finally promised to fight, but immediately retreated.

At San Felipe, threats were openly made to depose the commander-in-chief.

Moseley Baker refused to follow Houston up to Groce's, and the latter then ordered him to remain and guard San Felipe, and to burn it on the "approach of the enemy."

At Groce's Houston had "not more" than 1,300 men; Baker had 85 at San Felipe; and there were 100 at Fort Bend.

At Donoho's Houston told Baker that he was marching to Harrisburg by order of the Secretary of War, and that he did so against his own better judgment.

About 500 men left the army between the Brazos and Harrisburg.

Houston had 900 men at Harrisburg.

Deaf Smith originated the idea of burning Vince's bridge.

Houston was forced to a reluctant consent to fight the battle of San Jacinto by the refusal of his army to continue the retreat.

In the beginning of the engagement, before 100 Mexicans had been killed, Houston ordered a halt. Rusk took command, and continued the battle.]

EVERGREEN, October —.

To Gen. Sam Houston.

SIR: A regard for what I have considered the public interest has induced me for the last seven years, not only to overlook the numerous outrages I have sustained at your hands, but also in my public character at all times to appear as your friend and supporter. * * * That I now depart from my heretofore rule of action is attributable to yourself alone. In my recent canvass for the Senate, you descended from your political elevation and engaged with warmth and zeal against me. * * *

The first time that I had an opportunity of forming your acquaintance was at Nacogdoches, in the month of August, 1835. * * * One of the charges that I have made against you and to which you except is that you took little or no part in the bringing about of the revolution of Texas, and that, although you had been a resident of Nacogdoches for three years, that you had not sufficient influence to give tone to public sentiment even in your own county. This charge is unquestionably true, and yet you have permitted the idea to go forth that you were a prominent actor in the commencement of the great struggle; and you hear yourself spoken of as the Patrick Henry of the revolution without contradicting by sign or by word the flagrant mistake.

* * * I venture to assert that you never forgot how universal was the lamentation that Milam could not have lived to command the army of Texas. Had he lived the battle of San Jacinto would not have been fought, nor would a Mexican army ever have seen the eastern banks of the Guadalupe.

* * * On your arrival at Gonzales you immediately assumed the command of the army. * * * You marshaled your forces at Gonzales, and found yourself at the head of five hundred as brave men as ever shot the rifle, the most of whom had been in the Mexican and Indian fights of the country,—the victors of Concepcion and the Grass Fight, and the capturers of Santa Anna, men anxious for a fight and burning for an opportunity of revenging the fate of their fellow citizens at the Alamo. All eyes were now turned upon you, and all anxiously awaited the first movement of their new commander. No one doubted but that the order would be to cross the Guadalupe and fall upon Gen. Siesma, who was advancing upon us with only seven hundred men. So long had the men under your command been accustomed to whip the enemy, five, and often ten, to one, that the most enthusiastic delight existed when they found that they were about to have an opportunity of fighting them on even terms. But how astonished was that army when you ordered that at the hour of midnight a retreat would commence. * * * With so many brave men under your command, and so many rallying from the settlements to your army, you had only to give the word and then Texian rifles, as they ever did before and ever since have done, would have rushed as the whirlwind over their pusillanimous foe. You had before you the bright example of John Austin, who, with 92 men, captured the strong fort of Velasco, garrisoned by 170 men, in open assault.¹ You had before you the example of Fannin, of Burleson, and of Milam. * * * But * * * you determined that your first military act should be a retreat. * * *

But at the hour of midnight your retreat did commence, and commenced amid a scene ever disgraceful to Texian arms. You threw your only two pieces of cannon into the river; you caused many of your men to burn their tents and leave their baggage,

¹Yoakum says (I, 204) that the Mexican force here was only 125 men, while that of the Texans was 112.—E. C. B.

because your order, given just before night, prevented them from finding their baggage animals; you left on post your open picket guard unnotified of your retreat; and as we passed the houses of Gonzales, our ears were met with the heart-rending shrieks of those females, who heretofore, confidently depending on Texian courage, had made no provision for a removal; and last, though not least, our way was lighted by the unnecessary and indefensible burning of Gonzales.¹ Such, sir, is a faint picture of your first military move. I will not renew your recollection by a further review of the horrors of that disgraceful night. Worn down in spirit and body, we reached, shortly before day, Peach creek, ten miles this side of Gonzales. Here your men confidently expected that you would make a stand, because on your retreat from Gonzales you said you would retreat to the *tall timbers*, and no one for a moment thought that you had any intention of proceeding as far as the Colorado. But you precipitately left your camp early that same morning, induced by a sound resembling that of a cannon which repeatedly elicited from you the expression that you "had no idea that the enemy would be upon you so soon," but which we afterwards learned was only the explosion of whisky barrels in ill-fated Gonzales. You made forced marches for the Colorado amid the murmurings and complaints of your dissatisfied army. You crossed the Colorado fifteen miles above the great crossing at Beason's; taking a solitary and unusual route, one certainly which the enemy would not think of taking, and which they did not take. You remained there * * * ²days, and finally at the remonstrance of many of your officers and the universal complaints of your men, you removed down to Beason's crossing. * * * What possible reason could you have for going to Burnham's crossing? No one that I have ever heard speak on the subject has been able to assign any. * * *

You are now, sir, encamped on the eastern bank of the Colorado, with an army numbering from fifteen hundred to seventeen hundred men. But we will here make a pause, and, leaving out of the question the disgracefulness of the retreat, make some inquiry into its influence on the better interests of the country.

¹The town was not burned until after the army had left it.—E. C. B.

²Illegible.—E. C. B.

When you commenced your retreat from Gonzales Col. Fannin was at Goliad with five hundred men. You attempted no diversion in his favor, you attempted no co-operation,¹ you sent him no intelligence of your movements, of your ulterior intention. * * * How easy it would have been for you to have fallen down upon Victoria and by uniting with Fannin have brought off his whole detachment in safety; for your army by that time, with the numerous recruits there were coming in, would have equaled at least fifteen hundred men, a number that under any other leader would not have thought of a retreat; but would have marched to battle and to certain victory. * * *

By your retreat you abandoned the whole country west of the Colorado to the enemy; but what was still more disastrous than all, you infused a feeling of terror and dismay into the minds of the people; and so soon as it was heard that you were retreating, hundreds who were on their way to join the army at once returned for the purpose of removing their families beyond danger. The people of Texas, although aware of their vast inferiority in point of number, to the Mexicans, yet had boldly gone into a declaration of independence, reasoning from numerous battles that had occurred, that they were a full match for the Mexicans with a difference of ten to one. When the Declaration of Independence was made, it was supposed that Santa Anna had an army of ten thousand men in Texas, and yet the people, so far from running away, were hastening to the army for the purpose of "enjoying a frolic" in whipping the Mexicans, as they styled it. So soon, however, as it was found that you were retreating, a new face was given to the whole matter. It was at once said that Texas was lost, that the men we now had to fight were a different order from the Mexicans we had so often whipped. It was said that Santa Anna with choice legions was coming down upon us, and that so far from whipping them ten to one, we were unable to contend with them man to man. So soon as you crossed the Colorado the families all to the west of that river hurried away to the settlements on the east side, and by the dreadful accounts given in their terror the feeling became general, and universal consternation seized the country. Thousands who had a week before

¹Houston ordered him to fall back to Victoria "as soon as practicable."—
E C. B.

little dreamed that anything was to be apprehended from Mexicans, who were going and preparing to go to the army, were now scattered throughout the land, fleeing from the wrath behind them. The situation of things at this time was awful. You yourself perceived the magnitude of your folly and you sent messengers throughout the country, telling the people to stay at home, that you intended to fight and to whip the enemy on the Colorado. This assurance had a most salutary influence. A large number did stop in their career, and many of them were hurrying to the army when they found they were in full retreat to the Brazos. All confidence in you now was gone; people gave up the country as wholly lost, and then commenced that "runaway scrape" as 'tis called in Texas, which did not stop until many had passed the Sabine and others heard of the fortune of our arms at San Jacinto.

* * * You were now, as I have before said, encamped on the eastern bank of the Colorado. You now have an army of from fifteen hundred to seventeen hundred men, and notwithstanding the terrible panic that has siezed the country, you have every reason to believe that a short time will make it two thousand. On the opposite side Gen. Siesma, the Mexican general, is encamped with seven hundred men. Your spies assure you that no reinforcement is at hand, that his encampment can easily be approached; and one universal burst from the army desired you to lead them to the conflict; yet you hesitated. * * * Col. Sherman, who commanded the crossing at Dewees's earnestly entreated that he might be permitted to cross over with three hundred men, promising to rout the enemy or not return alive. This you declined and yet hesitated to fight. You hesitated so long that the most mutinous feeling began to show itself, and to allay the storm, you unequivocally assured the army that you would fight on the next morning at daybreak. You even went so far as to write letters to families on the Colorado to remain at home, assuring them that you would fight next morning at daybreak. * * * That morning, however, * * * broke to an army dispirited and mutinous, desperate in the highest degree; but still unresolved what to do. You had promised in the morning to fight at daybreak of the next; but on the evening of that same day you called the army together and made it a speech. You represented the imperative necessity of the encampment being removed to a place where water and grass could be had, and although this seemed unac-

countably strange, when you were engaged to fight the next morning, yet your order was obeyed, and you retreated seven miles that evening. No one had the most distant conception that you were retreating from the enemy until they came up with Col. Sherman's command. * * * The whole country west of that river was now possessed by the enemy; universal panic had siezed the people; women and children were flying in crowds from their homes and scattered throughout the land, presented an object of harrowing pity that made your brave army weep. Fannin had now capitulated to an overwhelming force and his fate was uncertain. Had you crossed the river and captured Siesma and his army, as you could have so easily done, you would have had such hostages as would have saved Fannin and his men from the cruel fate to which they were destined. * * * But, sir, independent of all other considerations, in a military point of view, now was the time to fight. Texas, as I have before stated, had gone into this revolution anticipating that she would have to battle with the odds largely against her. If she could not whip Mexico man to man, then indeed was her cause helpless; but here by some strange infatuation, a force of seven hundred men had deliberately thrown itself in your way and you had but to reach forth your hand to capture it. If you could not destroy this force, then was utter ruin to Texas the consequence. If with two to one you were not a match for Siesma, when and where and how did you expect to contend with Santa Anna, when he should unite his detachments and marshal an army of ten thousand, as you then supposed, animated by its victories and confident of success? You could not have thought ever to have had a better opportunity than the one before you. * * * As the Commander-in-Chief of Texas you could not have placed Santa Anna's forces in a more disadvantageous situation for himself or more advantageous for yourself. Siesma had seven hundred men on the Colorado before you. Santa Anna was at Gonzales, sixty miles distant, on the march with one thousand men under Filisola. Gaona was on the march to Bastrop with one thousand men, on his way to the Trinity (the upper route); Gen. Andrade was at Bexar with fifteen hundred men; Gen. Urrea at Goliad with two thousand men; and numerous small detachments scattered at different points to the west of San Antonio. Now, sir, by routing Siesma, you could have immediately have fallen upon

Santa Anna on his way from Gonzales, and have given him battle with nearly two to one in your favor. A victory over him would have given you the choice of attacking Gaona or Urrea, as you might have deemed proper, without the ability on the part of one to have assisted the other. With the exception of Urrea, every detachment of Santa Anna's army was inferior in point of numbers to your own, and you then and there * * * refused an advantage which Providence appeared to have given you. * * * You have since given as a reason for not fighting at the Colorado that your cannon had not arrived, and you have endeavored to affix the blame on Col. John A. Wharton, who, you say, prevented the arrival of the cannon. * * *

The morning that you had promised to fight the enemy found you in full retreat for the Brazos. * * * That night you reached San Felipe, and propositions from many quarters were made to depose you. I certainly supposed that next morning it would be done at all events; it was well understood, as I supposed with a considerable portion of the army that they would not follow you longer. On the next morning you determined to leave San Felipe and to go up the Brazos twenty miles. Your army followed you with the exception of my company. Satisfied that you had no intention to fight, I indignantly refused longer to follow you. You put your army in motion and when you found that I would no longer be led by you, you rode back to me in person and gave me orders to take post opposite San Felipe with my command, and gave me orders to burn the town on the approach of the enemy. You pursued your route up the Brazos and finally encamped amid some lakes, at a spot to which no roads ran. Will you tell me why you went there? Why you abandoned the crossing at San Felipe, the great public highway of the country? I will tell you. You were bound for the Red Lands, and went there in order that you might at all times be at least twenty miles ahead of the enemy. By going there you left to the mercy of the enemy the whole population of the Brazos from San Felipe down. Not dreaming that you would retreat from the Colorado, but few of the Brazos families had removed, and when they did you had removed up the Brazos. * * * I had but forty men with which to protect the crossing at San Felipe, and although you ordered me forthwith to cross over my men, I saw proper to refuse. I remained on the western side

until I had seen every family in San Felipe across the river. * * * Satisfied that should the enemy effect a crossing at San Felipe, the whole population on the eastern side of the river below, as well as that numerous population making its way to San Jacinto, would fall into the hands of the enemy, I went forthwith to cutting down trees and digging ditches, determined to protect the crossing at all hazards. My work was not complete when Santa Anna in person with a thousand men arrived. When he came, I had but forty men and had besides a number of Mexicans who you considered enemies and whom you gave me to guard. Notwithstanding the continued cannonading that we sustained, my men were undaunted. * * * After several days skirmishing, the enemy retreated and crossed at Fort Bend, below.

Your retreating policy now began to develop its consequences. Although many on the Brazos joined you, and two companies on your retreat from the Colorado, yet your army at your camp now could not muster, in all probability, over thirteen hundred men. Volunteers had joined me at San Felipe, making my force eighty-five men. At Fort Bend, thirty miles below, there were one hundred men; and still below, under Col. Morehouse (now Gen. Morehouse) and Capt. Eberly * * *¹ men. You had lost some three or four hundred men who had been with you at the Colorado, but who now were satisfied that you would not fight, had left the army, and gone to take care of their families. Notwithstanding all this, had you fallen down to San Felipe, and ordered up the companies from below, you would have had some seventeen hundred fighting men; and had you made such a demonstration as would have left no doubt of your fighting, in two days time you could have confidently counted on two thousand men. * * * You had the steamer Yellowstone at your command, the river was very high and any other man than yourself would not have desired a more favorable opportunity for attacking the enemy. But no; there you remained, resisting the earnest entreaties of your officers and men for battle. * * * You have repeatedly stated that the reason you did not fight on the Colorado was because you had no cannon. You had two good pieces on the Brazos, and yet you did not fight.² * * * You also deny having given me an order to burn

¹Illegible.—E. C. B.

²The cannon did not arrive till the 11th.—E. C. B.

San Felipe. * * * My statement received full credit before the auditorial court. * * *

You then sent down an officer of the line to bring up all below your camp. * * * I believed you were running to the Red Lands, and believed it my duty to use every attempt to depose you, if you should take the road for the east; but on learning on the next day that you were bound for Galveston bay, in accordance with the orders of the Secretary at Washington, I overlooked the past and followed cheerfully your command.

* * * It is true you were nominally the head of the army, because you had been appointed by the Convention; but the government existed now only in the imagination. Your retreating policy had caused the inhabitants in a body to move in the direction of the Sabine. The men with you were nearly all that remained of the population; and our hopes of liberty, of homes, and of property now depended on our own exertions. * * * By calling to your assistance the companies from below and letting it be distinctly understood that you would fight the enemy on the Brazos, you could have commanded two thousand men; with two pieces of artillery and a steamboat to facilitate your operations. The enemy were now situated as follows: Santa Anna and Siesma at San Felipe with one thousand men; Gaona on the road from Bastrop to San Felipe, distant at least seventy miles, Filisola between the Guadalupe and the Colorado, distant at least sixty miles; Urrea at Matagorda, distant ninety miles; and the remainder of Santa Anna's troops to the west of the San Antonio river. You could have fallen upon Santa Anna with two to one in your favor, or you could have attacked General Gaona, having in your favor the same odds, without the possibility of any detachment giving assistance to the other. You now had it in your power to have defeated in detail every detachment of Santa Anna's army, with a large numerical superiority on your part, and yet not a gun was fired at them, except what was done from my camp and from the one at Fort Bend.

The necessity of doing something decisive was now apparent to all, for the most sanguine spirits in your army now began to despond. * * * You felt that the cause of Texas was forever lost, and you determined to retreat at least to the very bosom of the Red Lands. But immaterial what was the cause, the necessity for a

was impossible, to encamp where you were was equally so; and you gave orders for the army immediately to retrograde and form the encampment on Buffalo bayou, in the timber through which we had previously passed. This was barely effected when Santa Anna appeared in full view. * * * Your own brave army quailed not, but with ready rifle anxiously awaited the word to charge. * * * But no such fortune was in store. Your order was for them to remain under the bank and not to show themselves. You played upon the enemy with your cannon, before which they immediately quailed and obliques to an island of timber, distant, say, four hundred yards, from whence they cannonaded you some hours. * * * You are almost twice their strength in numbers¹ and you are urged to the fight by the almost frantic demands of the army, for so frantic was the demand for a fight that it was with the utmost difficulty that I could prevent my company from rushing on the enemy. * * * But no order for a fight came and you suffered the Mexicans unmolested to retreat to an encampment about a mile distant, from whence some hours they continued to cannonade you. * * * On the retreat of the enemy, one universal clamor prevailed throughout your ranks. You were an object of hatred and disgust, and the proposition was entertained to arrest you for the future disposition of the Cabinet, and to place some one in your stead. The most of the field officers, I know, had no objection to its being done; but their refusal to take the lead prevented any action on the part of others. In this condition of feeling we remained until a call was made for volunteer cavalry to go out on some expedition not publicly known. Some fifty or sixty cavalry under Colonel Sherman did go out and boldly attacked the enemy in his lines, drove back their cavalry, and maintained their ground for some time against the whole Mexican force. * * * It is the first opportunity that any portion of your army has had of trying strength with the enemy on an open field, and it is sufficient to say that they covered themselves with glory. They demonstrated to you and to your army that the men before whom we had so long * * * retreated were the same pusillanimous foe that we had ever whipped. * * * Your camp that night and succeeding morning was one of uproar and confusion. Officers and men were

¹Houston had 783 men, Santa Anna 750.—E. C. B.

seen grouped together discussing the practicability of doing anything. * * * When next morning it was understood that you had ordered a floating bridge to be built across the bayou, one universal expression was that it should not be done. During the forenoon of that day various members of the army were seen publicly and fearlessly going from company to company, * * * soliciting volunteers to fight the enemy without your consent. During this period of exasperation Gen. Cos was seen by our cavalry marching into Santa Anna's camp with a re-enforcement from the Brazos. Your relative positions were now changed. Santa Anna had now become nearly double your strength in point of numbers, and every hour you have reason to believe will now add to that strength. In this emergency you are still unresolved what to do. You dare not attempt to cross the San Jacinto; you cannot retreat back the way you came, because you have every reason to believe that you will meet the whole Mexican force. You have no provisions in your camp, and you are now fairly at bay. In this * * *¹ Deaf Smith rode up to you and asked to take some men and burn the bridge over Vince's bayou, in order to delay any re-enforcement that might be coming from the Brazos. This you granted and, although your situation is now one of victory or death, still you are unresolved what to do. One universal demand is heard from all parts of your camp, not in the language of entreaty, but in the dictatorial language of freemen, whose all was now involved. You were plainly told that you must fight or that the army would disband. * * * There was in fact no other course left but to fight or surrender, and at the hour of three o'clock P. M., on the 21st day of April, 1836, you gave an order for the army to prepare for battle. * * * After retreating from Gonzales with fifteen hundred men before Siesma with seven hundred men, after giving up Fannin and his men to a cruel massacre, after retreating from the Brazos before half your number, after refusing to fight on the 20th Santa Anna when he charged down upon you with five hundred men, after giving up all Texas, as it were, and scattering its population in every quarter and direction, you are at last compelled to march out and attack the enemy in his encampment with all the advantage which his situation gives him, and having twice your number of men. * * *

¹Illegible.—E. C. B.

You are now drawn up before the enemy in battle array. * * *

The Mexican artillery and the Mexican musketry are playing upon your line, but your men, obedient to orders, move not, fire not. "Trail rifles and forward!" is the word. * * * When within seventy yards the word "Fire!" is heard, and a string of blaze proceeds from your line. "Charge!" instantaneously follows, and then, * * * the enemy are now in full flight. We have possessed their cannon and their camp, and they are fleeing unresistingly before us. We have pursued them some three hundred yards beyond their camp, killing them as we go. A few minutes more and they will be ours, when the voice of Sam Houston is heard, shouting to "Halt, that the fate of Texas now depends on the cast of a die, and that Gen. Cos is coming up with re-enforcements!" Such, sir, was your language and your order, but, fortunately for Texas, your power was now at an end. With the exception of a few regulars, your army was composed of volunteers, of men of substance, the bone and sinew of the land, who were fighting for everything dear on earth, and who heard your order only to laugh it to scorn. Of all the volunteers in your army, not one obeyed you. I was in ten steps of you, and Gen. Rusk, the Secretary of War, a short distance further on. When your order to halt was given he immediately replied to you as follows: "Gen. Houston, I have been your friend, but I have followed you long enough. The victory is not yet complete and * * * the army shall go ahead." * * * You will also please bear in mind that when your order to halt was given that not more than a hundred of the enemy had been slain and not one prisoner made; and the most important of the work was done in express violation of your commands. * * *

You have now encamped, say, eight hundred men. Several squads of men have arrived at your camp on Buffalo bayou,¹ making the number there about four hundred. You have intelligence of the advance of three companies from the east. Capt. Wiley Martin's company is within fifty miles. Capt. Bird's company about the same distance and Capt. (now Gen.) Morehouse about the same distance. You can command at least twelve hundred men, and within three days time you can command upwards of fifteen hundred men. * * *

¹Probably the Harrisburg camp, where the baggage train was left.—
E. C. B.

* * * You speak of the wonderful advantages to Texas resulting from the battle of San Jacinto, and I would like to ascertain from you what those advantages are. Has it obtained for us an acknowledgment of our independence? Has it diminished the angry and vindictive feelings of Santa Anna, etc., etc.? No, it has done none of these things. * * *

IV.

Delgado's Account of the Battle.

[This account is taken from the diary of Col. Pedro Delgado, of Santa Anna's staff, and gives, therefore, the Mexican point of view. It was first published in Filisola's *Memorias para la Historia de la Guerra de Tejas*, I, 82-116, Mexico, 1849.¹ The following extracts are taken *passim* from a translation in the *Texas Almanac*, 1870, 41-53.]

On the 14th of April, 1836, His Excellency the President ordered his Staff to prepare to march, with only one skiff and leaving his own and the officers' baggage with General Ramirez y Sesma, who was instructed to remain at the crossing of the Brazos, whither we expected to return within three days.

On the 13th the flank companies of the Battalions of Matamoros, Aldama, Guerrero, Toluca, Mexico, and, I believe Guadalajara, had commenced crossing the river with a six-pounder commanded by Lieutenant Ignacio Arrenal, and fifty mounted men of Tampico and Guanajuato, who formed His Excellency's escort. The whole force amounted to six hundred men, more or less.

At about four o'clock P. M. His Excellency started for Harrisburg, with the force above mentioned.

The bottom of the Brazos is a dense and lofty timber, over three leagues wide. On reaching the prairie we found a small creek, which offered only one crossing. The infantry passed it comfortably over a large tree, which had fallen in such a manner as to form

¹In 1848-49, Filisola published two volumes under this title, and in 1849 two supplementary volumes—numbered, respectively, I and II—bearing the same title. The first set—Volume I, published in 1848, and Volume II, in 1849—is Filisola's history of the war; the other set—both volumes published in 1849—consists chiefly of a collection of documents concerning the war. Delgado's narrative is in Volume I of the latter set.

a convenient bridge. The ammunition was passed over by band. But His Excellency, to avoid delay, ordered the baggage and the commissary stores to remain packed on the mules. However, the water was soon over the pack-saddles, and the opposite bank was steep and slippery. Several mules fell down, interfering with each other, which resulted in a terrible jamming of officers and dragoons, pack-mules and horses. This, together with shouts and curses, completed a scene of wild confusion, which His Excellency witnessed with hearty laughter. Several officers and dragoons fell in the water; the stores were damaged and two mules were drowned. So much for the precipitation of this march.

* * * * *

On the 15th, at eight o'clock A. M., most of the stragglers having joined, we started again.

At about noon we reached a plantation abundantly supplied with corn, meal, sheep and hogs; it had a good garden and a fine cotton gin. We halted to refresh men and beasts.

At three o'clock P. M., after having set fire to the dwelling and gin houses, we resumed our march. Here His Excellency started ahead with his staff and escort, leaving General Castrillon in command of the infantry. We traveled at a brisk trot at least ten leagues, without halting, until we reached the vicinity of Harrisburg, at about eleven o'clock at night. His Excellency, with an adjutant and fifteen dragoons, went on foot to that town, distant about one mile, entered it, and succeeded in capturing two Americans, who stated that Zavala and other members of the so-called government of Texas, had left the morning before for Galveston. A part of the infantry joined us on the following morning at daylight.

On the 16th we remained at Harrisburg to await our broken-down stragglers, who kept dropping in till two or three o'clock.

On the opposite side of the bayou we found two or three houses well supplied with wearing apparel, mainly for women's use, fine furniture, an excellent piano, jars of preserves, chocolate, fruit, etc., all of which were appropriated for the benefit of His Excellency and his attendants. I and others obtained only what they could not use. After the houses had been sacked and burnt down a party of Americans fired upon our men from the woods; it is wonderful that some of us, camped as we were along the bank of the

bayou, were not killed. The quartermaster-sergeant of Matamoras was seriously wounded. This incident took place at five o'clock P. M. On the same day Colonel Almonte started from Harrisburg for New Washington with the cavalry.

On the 17th, at about three o'clock P. M., His Excellency, after having instructed me to burn the town, started for New Washington with the troops. It was nearly dark when we had finished crossing the bayou. Then a courier from General Almonte arrived, upon which His Excellency ordered Colonel Iberri to start with his adjutant, bearing dispatches to General Filisola, on the Brazos.

* * *

On the morning of the 18th we moved on, our cannon being still far away.

At noon we reached New Washington, where we found flour, soap, tobacco, and other articles, which were issued to the men.

* * *

General Castrillon came in, at five o'clock P. M., with the cannon.

On the 19th His Excellency ordered Captain Barragan to start with a detachment of dragoons to reconnoitre Houston's movements. We halted at that place, all being quiet.

On the 20th, at about eight o'clock A. M., everything was ready for the march. We had burnt a fine warehouse on the wharf, and all the houses in the town, when Captain Barragan rushed in at full speed, reporting that Houston was close on our rear, and that his troops had captured some of our stragglers, and had disarmed and dispatched them.

There is in front of New Washington a dense wood, through which runs a narrow lane, about half a league in length, allowing passage to pack-mules in single file only, and to mounted men in double file. This lane was filled with our pickets, the drove of mules, and the remainder of the detachment. His Excellency and staff were still in town. Upon hearing Barragan's report, he leaped on his horse, and galloped off at full speed for the lane, which, being crowded with men and mules, did not afford him as prompt an exit as he wished. However, knocking down one and riding over another, he overcame the obstacles, shouting at the top of his voice: "The enemy are coming! The enemy are coming!" The excitement of the General-in-Chief had such a terrifying effect upon the troops, that every face turned pale; order could no longer be pre-

served, and every man thought of flight or of finding a hiding place, and gave up all idea of fighting. Upon reaching the prairie a column of attack was formed, with trepidation and confusion, amidst incoherent movements and contradictory orders.

At this moment His Excellency did me the honor to place me in command of the artillery and ordnance, giving me his orders verbally, with strict injunctions as to my responsibility. Meanwhile, the officers having dismounted and taken their stations in front of their commands, we moved in search of the enemy, with flankers on both sides to explore the woods. * * *

It was two o'clock P. M. when we descried Houston's pickets at the edge of a large wood, in which he concealed his main force. Our skirmishers commenced firing; they were answered by the enemy, who fell back in the woods. His Excellency reached the ground with our main body, with the intention, as I understood, of attacking at once; but they kept hidden, which prevented him from ascertaining their position. He therefore changed his dispositions, and ordered the company of Toluca to deploy as skirmishers in the direction of the woods. Our cannon established on a small elevation, opened its fire. The enemy responded with a discharge of grape, which wounded severely Captain Urriza, and killed his horse.

* * * * *

At nine o'clock A. M., General Cos came in with a reinforcement of about five hundred men. His arrival was greeted with the roll of drums and joyful shouts. As it was represented to His Excellency that these men had not slept the night before, he instructed them to stack their arms, to remove their accoutrements, and to go to sleep quietly in the adjoining grove.

No important incident took place until 4:30 o'clock P. M. At this fatal moment the bugler on our right signaled the advance of the enemy upon that wing. His Excellency and staff were asleep; the greater number of the men were also sleeping; of the rest, some were eating, others were scattered in the woods in search of boughs to prepare shelter. Our line was composed of musket stacks. Our cavalry was riding bare-back to and from water.

I stepped upon some ammunition boxes the better to observe the movements of the enemy. I saw that their formation was a mere line in one rank and very extended. In their centre was the Texas

flag; on both wings they had two light cannons, well manned. Their cavalry was opposite our front, overlapping our left.

In this disposition, yelling furiously, with a brisk fire of grape, muskets and rifles, they advanced resolutely upon our camp. There the utmost confusion prevailed. General Castrillon shouted on one side; on another, Colonel Almonte was giving orders; some cried out to commence firing; others, to lie down to avoid grape shots. Among the latter was His Excellency.

Then, already, I saw our men flying in small groups, terrified, and sheltering themselves behind large trees. I endeavored to force some of them to fight, but all efforts were in vain—the evil was beyond remedy; they were a bewildered and panic stricken herd.

* * * * *

Then I saw His Excellency running about in the utmost excitement, wringing his hands and unable to give an order. General Castrillon was stretched on the ground, wounded in the leg. Colonel Treviño was killed, and Colonel Marcial Aguirre was severely injured. * * *

* * * * *

There they killed Colonel Batrés; and it would have been all over with us, had not Providence placed us in the hands of the noble and generous captain of cavalry, Allen, who by great exertion saved us repeatedly from being slaughtered by the drunken and infuriated volunteers. * * *

V.

Kuykendall's Recollections of the Campaign.

[This account of the San Jacinto campaign was written by J. H. Kuykendall at some time after 1856, I judge—since he annotates it with a reference to Yoakum's *History of Texas*—and has never before been published. It is apparently free from prejudice, and seems worthy of reliance. The MS. belongs to the Austin Papers, in the collection of Hon. Guy M. Bryan.

Summary: The Texan army at Gonzales could not have exceeded 400 men when Houston assumed command.

General Houston gave some of his baggage wagons to the families of Gonzales to facilitate their flight, and, since this deprived the army of the means of transportation, most of their baggage had to be burned.

On the march from San Felipe to Groce's, Houston declared that he did not intend to march to the Red Lands.

At Groce's, there was open talk among both officers and men of deposing the commander, in case he continued his retreating policy.

The writer believes that, at the fork of the road below McCurley's, the army took the Harrisburg road without any order from Houston.

About seventy-five effective men were left in camp at Harrisburg to guard between 150 and 200 sick. The rest of the army, about 800 strong, marched in pursuit of the Mexicans.]

I was in Mexico when hostilities commenced between her and Texas. I arrived at home (twenty-two miles above San Felipe) between the 15 and 20 of February, 1836—a few days previous to which time my neighbors had organized themselves into a company—having elected Robert McNutt captain and Gibson Kuykendall and John Burleson lieutenants.

A few days afterwards an express from Travis reached San Felipe with the intelligence that the Mexican army under Santa Anna had commenced siege of the Alamo, and urging his countrymen to repair to his assistance with all possible dispatch. Gov't. responded to his call by ordering the various companies which had been organized to march forthwith towards San Antonio. Gonzales was designated as the point of general rendezvous. I enrolled myself in Capt. McNutt's company, which took up the line of march on the evening of the first day of March, 1836. On the morning of the 2d March, we formed a junction with Capt. Moseley Baker's company from San Felipe. Both companies were infantry, and each had a baggage wagon. The night of the third of March, we slept at Rocky creek, twenty miles west of the Colorado, where we were joined by Capt. Thomas Rabb's company, from Egypt, on the Colorado, and on the morning of the 6th we reached Gonzales, where we found two companies, towit, Capt. Billingsley's from Bastrop and Capt. Sherman's from Kentucky. On the 7th another company (Capt. Hill's) arrived from Washington, on the Brazos. The companies of Sherman and Billingsley were encamped on the west bank of the river. The other companies encamped in the bottom, on the east bank of the Guadalupe, about a mile below the village of Gonzales, and less than half that distance below the ferry. Capt. Baker was chosen by the heads of companies to take charge of our little force until the arrival of a superior officer. We were in total ignorance of the fall of the Alamo, and hoped it would

be able to hold out until we could relieve it. Parties were sent out in the direction of San Antonio (distant seventy miles), but they brought back no tidings of friend or foe.

On the west side of the river, opposite our encampment, was a bluff, which overlooked our position. This circumstance was noticed by Capt. Baker, who caused a number of trees to be felled and a circuit-shaped breastwork to be erected in front of our camp. The men rather sharply criticized this first essay of Capt. Baker in the art of fortification, and contended that the trees as they stood in the forest afforded much better protection. Notwithstanding our own perilous situation, and our anxiety about our friends in the Alamo, there was a good deal of life and merriment in our camp. Pork, corn meal, and vegetables were supplied us in abundance by the people of Gonzales, and we had brought a good supply of bacon and sugar and coffee from home. But our days of good cheer were fated to be few.

On the 11th of March, General Houston arrived, and on the 12th reviewed and addressed his tiny army. By his orders a regiment was organized on the 12th by the election of Edward Burleson for colonel, S. Sherman for Lieut. Col., A. Somervill for major. General Houston also caused our camp to be moved two or three hundred yards—to the edge of the prairie—where our tents were pitched in two parallel rows.

On the evening of the 13th Mrs. Dickinson and Travis's negro man arrived at Gonzales with the astounding intelligence that the Alamo had been assaulted and taken on the morning of the 6th, and all of its defenders slain. Superadded to this news, a rumor became rife that two thousand of the enemy—the advance division of the Mexican army—might be hourly expected at Gonzales. As may reasonably be supposed this news produced intense excitement in our camp. In the little village of Gonzales the distress of the families was extreme. Some of them had lost friends and near and dear relations in the Alamo, and now the ruthless foe was at hand, and they unprepared to fly. To facilitate their exit, Gen'l. Houston caused some of our baggage wagons to be given up to them; but the teams, which were grazing in the prairie, were yet to be found, and night had already set in. In the meantime, orders were issued to the army to prepare as fast as possible to retreat. As most of the companies (all infantry) had been deprived of the means of

transportation, all our baggage and provisions, except what we were able to pack ourselves, were thrown into our camp-fires. Tents, clothing, coffee, meal, and bacon were alike consigned to the devouring element. Tall spires of flame shot up in every direction, illuminating prairie and woodland. About ten o'clock one of the captains marched his company to Gen'l Houston's tent and said, "General, my company is ready to march." The general, in a voice loud enough to be heard throughout the camp, replied, "In the name of God, sir, don't be in haste—wait till all are ready and let us retreat in good order."

Accordingly, about eleven o'clock, it was announced that all were in readiness to march. We were formed four deep and at the command, "Forward! March!" commenced their memorable retreat. The night was warm, but so dark as to constrain the army to move at a very moderate pace. Silent, and, indeed, solemn was the march. As we passed through the streets of Gonzales, we noticed great lights in the houses and the people packing up their household effects in all possible haste. A man came out on the piazza and said (addressing the army), "In the name of God, gentlemen, I hope you are not going to leave the families behind!" Some one in our ranks answered, "O yes, we are all looking out for number one." In another minute we had emerged from the illuminated street and were again "covered with darkness as with a pall." Although most of our men were accustomed to service, very few had ever served as footmen until this campaign or borne such burdens as were imposed on them that night. A mile or two east of Gonzales the road entered an extensive post-oak forest and was in some places quite sandy, which greatly increased the fatigue of the march. Many men becoming leg-weary, left the ranks and lay down at the roadside to rest. About an hour before day, having *felt* our way to McClure's, on the east side of Peach creek (ten or eleven miles from Gonzales), we were halted and ordered to lie down on our arms. Never was order more promptly obeyed. Many of the men did not take time to spread their blankets, but lay down on the bare ground with their knapsacks under their heads, and were almost instantly asleep. In the meantime, a brilliant light shot up far above the western horizon. This phenomenon was caused by the conflagration of the town of Gonzales. After an hour's repose, we

were aroused. By this time many of the families of Gonzales had overtaken the army and paused for rest and refreshment.

While we were sipping our unsweetened coffee, two or three loud explosions in quick succession were heard in the direction of Gonzales, and the idea instantly occurred to, perhaps, nearly every man in the army that these reports were caused by the artillery of the enemy. But this apprehension was soon removed by a suggestion which seemed very reasonable and which proved true, that these sounds were produced by the explosion of some canisters of gunpowder which had been left in one of the burning houses. This morning we were joined by thirty or forty mounted men, most of whom were from the Brazos and had passed the preceding night near the spot where the army bivouacked.

Immediately after dispatching our scanty breakfast, the march was resumed. At the distance of four or five miles we emerged from the oak forest before mentioned, and entered a wide, undulating prairie, on the principal eminence of which—known as the “Big Hill”—the army was halted a few minutes to rest.

Though it was yet early in the spring, the prairie was as green as an emerald, and the sun, which during the morning had been hidden by clouds, suddenly shone out, heightening the beauty of the scenery and greatly exhilarating our spirits. During this halt I remember to have noticed the contrast in the personal appearance and attire of Cols. Burleson and Sherman. The former wore a somewhat faded, blue home-spun round-jacket and pantaloons. He carried no sword or other arms, except a pair of small pistols in his belt. Sherman had a much more trim and military appearance. He wore a blue cloth round-jacket trimmed with silver lace, and a handsome dress sword was suspended at his side. Yet the former had seen much service, both in the United States and Texas, whilst the latter was then in his novitiate.

Immediately after the march was resumed, Gen'l. Houston rode slowly from the front to the rear of the army, pointing towards the ranks with his finger, evidently counting the men. Having numbered his host, he returned to the front, proclaiming as he rode along in his peculiar deliberate and distinct utterance, “we are the rise of eight hundred strong, and with a good position can whip ten to one of the enemy.” I have no doubt that he purposely exaggerated our strength in order to inspirit the men. Our force, in

fact, could not have much exceeded four hundred men, to wit, six companies of infantry, averaging probably sixty men each, and, *perhaps*, sixty mounted men. I feel confident that had the fugitive families from Gonzales been included in the estimate, the number of souls then on the "Big Hill" did not exceed, if it reached, eight hundred.

Some cases of measles appeared in the army before the retreat commenced, and during this day's march my file-leader was extremely ill with that disease, and in due time I had to pass through the ordeal myself. A little after sunset the army reached Daniels's, on the waters of Lavaca, and encamped in the prairie remote from wood, but Daniels's fence was at a convenient distance and was used for fuel.

About dusk some beeves were driven up and slaughtered, and rations of meat distributed. We had no bread and but little coffee. As we had marched hard and slept little (indeed, some had not slept any) for twenty-four hours, this was a very trying night on the sentinels—one of whom, a young man by the name of Rhodes, of McNutt's company, was found asleep at his post. When this fact was reported to Gen'l. Houston the ensuing morning, he swore he would have Rhodes shot.

About one o'clock on the fifteenth the army reached the Navidad and encamped for the remainder of the day. Just before reaching the Navidad, we were met and joined by a squad of mounted men from the Brazos. During this day's march, at Rocky creek, Rhodes, who was under arrest, stopped in the middle of the stream to drink. This caused the men in the rear to halt for a moment. Gen'l. Houston rode to the crossing and inquired the cause of the halt, and when informed that it was made to give Rhodes time to drink, he cried aloud, "Knock him down, God d—n him, knock him down—standing there and impeding the march of the whole army, G—d d—n him, knock him down!" Frightened by these imprecations, Rhodes instantly cleared the way without the necessity of being felled. After we camped in the evening, the general reprimanded Rhodes and ordered his release.

At this camp the general was furious because some horses were turned loose to graze within the line of sentinels. He did not want many mounted men, and many of those who repaired to the army on horseback, rather than be dismounted, returned to their homes.

This they could do with impunity, as they were careful not to attach themselves to any organized company. This was the second attempt in the history of these colonies to organize an army of footmen, and, considering that our people were as much attached and accustomed to mounted service as the Cossack or Comanche, the voluntary relinquishment of the horse was a strong manifestation of patriotism.

March 16th, the army arrived on the west bank of the Colorado river, at Burnham's.

March 17th, the weather became drizzly, rendering our camp on the west bank of the river very muddy. This day a notorious character named Garner attempted to pass out of our lines *nolens volens*, and the sentinel broke his gun over his head. More, anon, of this fellow. Here also, on this same day, General Houston, having occasion to pass beyond our lines, was hailed by a sentinel, who demanded his "pass." The general asked the guardian of the camp if he did not know that his general had a right to pass without being challenged; to which the sentinel replied, that he had been instructed by the officer of the day to permit no man to pass the lines without written permission of said officer of the day. "Well, my friend," said the general, "if such were your orders, you are right," and seating himself on a stump, waited till the officer of the day came and rectified the blunder. By two or three o'clock, the last man was ferried over to the east bank of the Colorado, and the same evening the army marched down the river as far as Crier's (2 or three miles). On the 19th, we marched a few miles farther down and camped early in the day in the post oak woods. There was rain this day. Here our scouts—at the head of whom was Capt. Karnes—rode into camp with a Mexican prisoner and created a lively sensation by the intelligence that they had that evening¹, a few miles west of the Colorado, met the spies of the enemy and killed one and captured another. The killing was done by Secrest, who exhibited the sword and pistols of his adversary. The near approach of the Mexican army was now placed beyond doubt. On the 20th, the army moved a few miles farther down the river and encamped nearly opposite Beason's; Lieutenant-Col.

¹Yoakum says this happened on the 20th. He is correct, provided the army arrived at Burnham's on the 17th instead of the 16th.

Sherman with about one hundred men having the same morning been detached to take a position at Dewees's crossing (a very shallow ford) about three miles above Beason's. On the morning of the 21st, our scouts came in and reported that a considerable force of the enemy was encamped on the west side of the Colorado within three miles of headquarters, and within less than two of Sherman's position. This intelligence greatly exhilarated the men, who were eager for a fight. Several large cottonwood trees were felled on the bank of the river at Beason's crossing (not fordable) behind which men were posted to dispute the passage of the river. Four miles farther down the river was the Atascocito crossing, which was unguarded. This circumstance, probably, did not occur to the general until late in the evening, about dusk, at which time he sent one of his aides to the camp of the company to which I belonged, with an urgent request that four or five of us would volunteer to proceed immediately down to said crossing. Felix G. Wright, David Lawrence, and myself, of Capt. McNutt's company; and John Ingram, of Capt. Hill's, at once volunteered for this service, and went to Gen. Houston's tent for his instruction. The general said, "It is very dark, men, for which reason, footmen can more easily find their way down than horsemen. You will proceed silently and cautiously to the Atascocito crossing, where you will all remain until you are relieved tomorrow morning; unless the enemy shall present himself on the opposite side of the river, in which event one of you will mount your best horse and bring the news *as speedily as possible*.¹ Guided by Ingram, we slowly and silently groped our way down to the crossing where we arrived about midnight. Here we remained until after sunrise the next morning without seeing or hearing aught of the enemy; and had already started back to camp when we met a relief guard of mounted men. About nine o'clock we got back to camp and reported to General Houston. During this and the succeeding two or three days the army was joined by several organized companies from eastern Texas, and numerous squads from various parts. During the remainder of the campaign we had tattoo and reveillé.

¹Gen'l. H. was, *perhaps*, a little "in liquor," but I do not assert that he was. The inconsistency in his orders may be otherwise accounted for. I do not believe that he drank much during the campaign. He carried in his pocket a small bottle of salts of hartshorn, which he frequently applied to his nostrils.

On the morning of the 23rd, the army was paraded and informed that a strong division of the enemy were encamped within two miles, and in sight of Col. Sherman's position—to strengthen whom a hundred volunteers were now called for. The required number (among whom was my captain and the greater part of his company, including myself) instantly stepped in advance of the line, and in five minutes were *en route* for Dewees's ford. On our way up we met a file of men taking two or three Mexican prisoners to Gen'l. Houston. These were soldiers and had, whilst foraging, been captured by Sherman's men. They stated that they belonged to the division of the Mexican army encamped on the opposite side of the river; that said division was eight hundred strong, and commanded by General Siezma.

We found Col. Sherman encamped in the bottom about sixty yards from the river, along the bank of which, and opposite the ford, he had dug a ditch. In the rear of the camp was a dense cane-brake through which an opening had been cut to post sentinels. A prairie extended from the opposite bank of the river to the position of the enemy in the edge of the postoak woods. It was either on this or the following day (24th) that thirty or forty mounted men were sent from headquarters (crossing in a boat at Beason's) to reconnoitre the enemy's camp. They were unable, however, to approach very near it, as the enemy opened a fire on them with one or two small field pieces. A ravine nearly opposite our camp extended from the river for some distance in the direction of the enemy. At the head of this ravine Sherman posted a strong party of men and caused two or three horsemen to approach near the Mexicans, whose cavalry, it was hoped, would pursue our men and be drawn into the ambush. But the *ruse* did not succeed. The enemy could not be tempted to leave his camp. Very anxious were our men to be led against the enemy, who, it was confidently believed, was completely within our power. Daily, hourly, were orders expected for an attack. None doubted that we would be permitted to strike a blow, until the evening of the 26th, when Col. Sherman received an order from the commander-in-chief to break up his camp and retire toward San Felipe.¹ About sunset our little division (probably 250 men) was in motion. After marching six or

¹News of the surrender of Col. Fannin's command reached the army before it retreated from the Colorado.

seven miles we lay down on our arms without fire. Early next morning, after sipping a little black coffee, the march was resumed. About an hour before noon we arrived at the San Bernardo, where we found and slaughtered a fat cow. While we were eating our roast beef, the main army arrived, but did not halt. Sherman's battalion, instead of joining the line of the marching column on the road, was thrown thirty or forty paces to its right, and had to march during the remainder of the day thro' the high grass. Soon after leaving the Bernard, Ben Fort Smith (Houston's adjt. gen'l) rode along for a few minutes near that part of our rank in which I marched, and conversed with some of us freely in regard to the policy of this second retreat. He found that we were much opposed to it, and strongly censured General Houston for his non-combative policy (and Smith doubtless knew that the whole army censured him) yet he (Smith) did not say a word in defense of the general, and, when something was said about depriving Houston of the command and electing some one in his place, Smith neither said aye nor nay to the suggestion; but remarked that he believed, and had always believed, that if God Almighty had intended him (Smith) for anything, it was for a military commander.

A little after dark, after having marched about twenty miles, the army encamped on Spring creek—a mile and a half west of San Felipe. Here, again, the fencing supplied us with fuel. On the morning of the 28th, Captain Baker's company was detached to remain at San Felipe, and the army again took up the line of march. Late in the afternoon it arrived at Mill creek (at a point three miles above Cummins's mill). Ere the army had crossed this stream it began to rain in torrents. As we marched through Mill creek bottom, floundering through mud and water and pelted by the pitiless storm, General Houston rode along slowly close to the company to which I belonged. He wore a black cloth dress coat, somewhat threadbare, which was rapidly absorbing the rain. He complained of having no blanket. He said he had had a very good one, but some scoundrel had stolen it from him. He then said, "My friends, I am told that evil disposed persons have reported that I am going to march you to the Redlands. This is false. I am going to march you into the Brazos bottom near Groce's, to a position where you can whip the enemy ten to one, and where we can get an abundant supply of corn from Lake creek." It was

after sunset when the army encamped about a mile north of Mill creek. It continued to rain heavily yet; some beeves were driven to camp and shot down and butchered amid the storm and darkness. An hour or two after night the rain ceased. Huge fires were soon blazing throughout the camp, and the process of roasting beef and drying blankets and clothing commenced, and continued until a late hour. This night Felix G. Wright, of Capt. McNutt's company, became suddenly very ill. Next day (29th), in consequence of having to open a road through a thicket for our baggage wagons, we marched only three miles, and encamped about midway between Cummins's mill and Piney creek. Here Wright died. Next morning (30th) we dug his grave in a little oak grove and, having consigned him, uncoffined, to his dark abode, resumed the march. Early in the evening (after marching 7 or 8 miles) the army encamped at Bracey's, near the edge of the Brazos bottom, and March 31st, sufficient space having been cleared in the bottom, near the margin of a large pond, we pitched our tents there. During the 12 or 13 days we remained in the bottom, it rained almost daily, in consequence of which our camp became extremely muddy and disagreeable. This added greatly to the discomfort of the sick, of whom there were many—nearly every tenth man, myself included, had the measles. Shortly after we moved into the bottom a new regiment was formed, of which Sherman was elected colonel. To fill his place in the first regiment Alexander Somervill was elected Lt. Col. The office of major in the first regt. having also become vacant, Capt. McNutt was elected to fill it. Gibson Kuykendall was elected captain of the company formerly commanded by McNutt. While we lay here, Garner, before spoken of, for various acts of insubordination, was tried by a court-martial and sentenced to be shot. He was taken to his grave and the whole army paraded to witness the execution of the sentence, when a reprieve from Gen'l. Houston was read. Very little sympathy was felt by anyone for Garner, as he was not only an insubordinate soldier, but a hardened villain.

About the 6th of April, the enemy arrived at San Felipe, and began to cannonade Capt. Baker's position on the east bank of the Brazos. Every cannon they fired was distinctly heard at our camp. A day or two afterwards, Col. Somervill returned from a visit to Capt. Baker's camp. He came to the tents of the company to which

I belonged and talked with the men; expressing himself strongly in disapprobation of the Fabian policy of the commander-in-chief. Should Gen'l. Houston persist in avoiding a conflict with the enemy, and continue to march the army eastward, as it was generally believed he intended to do,—he said he was in favor of depriving him of the command and supplying his place with a more belligerent leader, and wished to know whether our company favored such a course and would *take* it, should it become necessary. He was assured by both officers and men that he might rely upon their co-operation. I doubt not that Somervill and other officers sounded the whole army on this subject and received the same response. There was no injunction of secrecy—no one disguised his sentiments, and Gen'l Houston could not have been ignorant of what was in agitation. On the 12th, the army was ferried over the river (then very high) in the steamboat Yellowstone, and encamped a few hundred yards east of Groce's residence. Here we at length received what, since the beginning of the campaign had been a *desideratum*; namely, two beautiful, new, iron field pieces—the far-famed "Twin Sisters." Here we were also joined by Mirabeau B. Lamar and a few other volunteers from the United States. On the evening of the 14th the army was again put in motion. After marching about five miles it encamped near the residence of Mr. Donoho, whose rails were used for fuel. A great many fugitive families were encamped at and near this place. It was now ascertained that the enemy had effected the passage of the Brazos at Fort Bend, and his destination was presumed to be Harrisburg, the road to which place diverged from the one on which the army was marching about 16 or 17 miles east of Donoho's. The night of the 15th the army bivouacked at McCurley's. Early on the morning of the 16th a heavy shower of rain fell which delayed the advance of the army until nearly 10 o'clock A. M., when the march was resumed. All expected a scene at the forks of the road (a mile or two east of McCurley's), for it was generally agreed that, if the commander-in-chief did not order or permit the army to take the right-hand road, he was then and there to be deposed from its command. I do not believe that Gen'l Houston gave any order whatever as to which road should be followed, but when the head of the column reached the forks of the road it took the right-hand without being either bid or forbid.

During this day's march over a level, boggy prairie the wagon wheels often sank to their axles. Gen'l Houston once or twice dismounted and gave the teamsters "a lift." It was dark when we reached Burnett's on Cypress creek, where we encamped. The night of the 17th the army slept in the edge of the pine woods about six miles north of Harrisburg, and on the 18th, in the forenoon, encamped on the left bank of Buffalo bayou, less than eight hundred yards below the town of Harrisburg, which we found reduced to ashes. Deaf Smith having this morning captured and brought into camp two Mexicans, one of whom was a courier with dispatches for Santa [Anna], who, with a force of six hundred men was now ascertained to be somewhere down on the San Jacinto, and probably within a short day's march of our camp. The long cherished wish of our men to meet the enemy seemed likely to be speedily gratified. On the morning of the 19th an order was issued for every man to provide himself with three days ration preparatory to marching towards the enemy. This order was quickly followed by a notification to my brother, Capt. G. Kuykendall, that his company was detailed to remain at Camp Harrisburg to guard the sick and baggage. The small company of Capt. P. R. Splane was also detailed for the same service—all to be under the command of Major McNutt. As my brother's company was one of the first in the field, its detail to "keep camp" when there was a prospect of a fight seemed unfair. Cols. Burleson and Somervill and Sergt-Major Cleveland, at the request of my brother, urged Gen'l Houston to excuse said company from this service. The Gen'l refused to do so.¹ It was near noon when the army, about eight hundred

¹There can be no doubt that Gen. Houston considered the camp near Harrisburg a post of danger. For some time during the morning, before the army marched away, Gen'l. Houston sat on a log, writing with a pencil. After the departure of the army one of our men picked up, at the spot where he had sat, his general orders, written in pencil in his own hand, in which it was stated that the artillery would remain for the defence of the camp near Harrisburg. I saw and read this paper myself. So did others who are still living. Furthermore, after the army was paraded to march, it was said in camp that Col. Neil remonstrated against this order, and the result was that the artillery accompanied the army. To the best of my recollection, the effective force left with Major McNutt did not exceed seventy-five men, towit: Kuykendall's company, forty-five; Splane's, twenty, and ten teamsters. Between the 19th and 21st, several small

strong, began the march for San Jacinto. After it crossed Buffalo bayou about three-fourths of a mile below our camp, we had no further communication with it until after the battle of San Jacinto. From the prisoners and dispatches taken on the 18th it was ascertained that a division of the enemy was on its march from the Brazos to join Santa Anna and must necessarily pass through Harrisburg, and within half a mile of our camp. Major McNutt had strict orders from General Houston not to show himself, and to act entirely on the defensive. As the bayou and a dense wood lay between us and the road, it was believed by the general that, if his orders were obeyed, it was not likely that the enemy would discover our camp.

Early in the forenoon of the 20th we were advised of the arrival of the enemy at Harrisburg by the sound of his bugle and gun. He made no halt, however, until he arrived at Sims's Bayou,¹ about a mile below Harrisburg, and only half that distance from our camp. Here he was delayed until night crossing the bayou, and as he evidently did not suspect our proximity, we could easily have surprised him; but in obedience to his orders, our commander suffered him to continue his march unmolested. This day two of our sick died and were buried without the customary military honors. We also heard some firing in the direction our army had marched, and inferred that it had fallen in with the enemy. Our anxiety to know the result was, of course, very great.

On the morning of the 21st, about half a dozen of our men were sent down the bayou to repair the boat in which our army had crossed. While they were at work, a party of the enemy, attracted by the sound of the axe and hammer, stole close to the opposite bank of the bayou and fired on them. Upon hearing the volley of musketry, Major McNutt instantly paraded his command. In a very short time one of the parties from the boat galloped into

squads of mounted men joined us, increasing our force to about 100 men. The sick and ineffectives numbered more than 150 (perhaps there were 200). Many years afterwards Major McNutt informed the writer that General Houston gave him secret instructions, in case he should be attacked and hard pressed by the enemy, to shoot the two Mexican prisoners and blow up the ammunition wagon.

¹The division of the enemy was between five and six hundred strong—mostly infantry—and commanded by Gen. Cos.

camp with the intelligence of what had happened. He also brought behind him Henry Freid, of my brother's company, whose leg had been shattered by a musket ball. With the largest part of his command, Major McNutt marched rapidly down to the boat; but the enemy had become invisible, and in a few minutes we started back to camp, but ere we had proceeded half way, a brisk firing commenced on our left, about the crossing of Sims's Bayou. Heavy platoons of musketry followed each other in quick succession, interspersed with sharp reports of rifles. Several bullets sang along over our heads, some of them striking the pine trees and an old cabin on our right. The firing ceased before we reached camp, where we found that Roarer, the wagon master, taking advantage of the absence of the commander, had, with his teamsters (8 or 9) crossed the bayou and had gone to look for the enemy, whom he had doubtless found, and hence the firing. In a few minutes Roarer returned and reported that he had found a large party of the enemy encamped on the left bank of Sim's bayou, which he had attacked, and of whom he believed he had killed seven or eight without any loss on his part. Scarcely was this tale told when heavy firing again commenced in the direction of San Jacinto. For several minutes there was but a few seconds interval between the booming reports of the artillery, and those intervals were filled with the continuous roar of small arms. We now felt assured that the conflict of the day previous had not been decisive; but that now, indeed, had "come the tug of war." Of course we were greatly excited, yet we were very hopeful—nay, almost confident—of the success of our arms in the impending strife. Long after the cannon ceased to thunder we could still distinctly hear at irregular intervals rattling discharges of small arms. At length, near sunset, these reports also died away.

At the earnest entreaty of many of us, Major McNutt now determined to dispatch twenty-five or thirty men under Lt. Francis Miller to renew the attack on the party of the enemy at the crossing of Sims's bayou. Guided by Roarer, we began to move towards the camp of the enemy about dusk. Ere we had proceeded four hundred yards, the darkness, in consequence of the thick foliage of the magnolias, sweet bays, and other evergreens, became so great that there seemed some danger of losing our way. We continued, however, to advance slowly and silently until it was supposed

we were within two hundred yards of the enemy, when we were halted and told to lie down; our officers having determined to defer the attack until daybreak. We were too cold and too much excited to sleep. At early dawn we crept cautiously up to the Mexican camp—but alas, the bird had flown! The camp fires had nearly burned out and not a living thing was visible, save two or three wolfish looking dogs. One or two dead mules were floating in the bayou on the bank of which we found a sack of bacon and several bushels of corn in the ear. There was also a skiff in the bayou which had been used by the Mexicans in crossing. Observing a little mound of fresh earth on the opposite bank of the bayou, some of us went over to examine it. Scratching away the earth to the depth of five or six inches, we found the body of a man. I searched no further, but those who did, said they found three other human bodies in the same shallow grave. These bodies were probably the fruits of the previous evening's skirmish.

We were about to start back to our camp when we perceived a man riding towards us from below. When he arrived within two hundred yards of us he waved his hat over his head and shouted, "Huzza!" By this token we knew that he was the bearer of good news. In another minute that news was told. The battle of the evening before had crowned our arms with a complete and brilliant victory! *Then* such a shout went up as made the woods resound!

"O war, thou hast thy rude delight,
Thy gleams of joy *intensely* bright."

Upon returning to camp we found that our friends had already received the glorious news. A day or two afterwards we moved down to the headquarters of our army, near the battle ground.

Postscript: Rohrer reported that the party of the enemy he fought were seventy-five strong. It is not probable, however, that there were more than forty, several of whom were camp followers. They belonged to the division of Gen. Cos, by whom, for some reason unknown, they were left at Sims's bayou.

VI.

Labadie's Account of the Campaign.

[The narrative from which these extracts are taken *passim* was published in the *Texas Almanac*, 1859, 40-64. It was written from his notes taken during the campaign by Dr. N. D. Labadie, who joined the army at Beason's. Its publication provoked Houston's speech in the United States Senate. (See *infra*, 317-25.)

Summary: Houston took command of about 400 men at Gonzales.

Two cannon and much baggage were destroyed when the retreat was begun, because there was not sufficient time to catch the grazing baggage animals. The picket was left unnotified of the retreat for the same reason.

The army at the Colorado numbered 1500 or 1600 men, but it began to decrease after news arrived of Fannin's defeat.

Moseley Baker and Wily Martin refused to follow Houston from San Felipe. Houston then ordered the former to guard the crossing at San Felipe, and the latter to guard that at Fort Bend.

The medical staff was organized at Groce's.

At Groce's there was much talk of electing a new commander for the volunteers.

Houston admitted that he had ordered a company from the East to halt at Robbins's Ferry, on the Trinity.

The army took the road to Harrisburg without any order from Houston, who sent R. M. Williamson to order the company on the Trinity to join him, since the army had now changed its course.

Deaf Smith *cut down* Vince's Bridge.

During the battle of San Jacinto, Houston ordered a halt, but Rusk countermanded it.]

Previous to General Houston's arrival, some 400 men had assembled at Gonzales, and placed themselves under the command of Colonel Neill, where they remained for some days, anxiously waiting the arrival of reinforcements sufficient to justify the attempt to cut their way into the Alamo.

About the 11th or 12th of March, General Houston arrived and assumed command. On the following day the first regiment was organized by electing the following officers: Burleson, colonel; Sherman, lieutenant-colonel; Summerville, major. A camp was formed on the east bank of the Guadalupe, just below the town. That night news was brought into camp by an old Mexican of the fall of the Alamo; on the following day this sad news was fully con-

firmed by the arrival of Mrs. Dickinson and child, and two negro men-servants of Travis and Almonte. They brought information to the effect that 3000 of the enemy would camp on the Cibolo that night. Immediately on receiving that information, Houston ordered a retreat. Two cannon that had been procured were thrown into the Guadalupe river, tents and camp baggage were burnt, as there was no way of transporting them in consequence of the great haste to get off, and it being extremely dark, but few of the horses of the small number they had could be found. In fact, the haste was so great that the picket-guard that had been posted two or three miles west of the river were not called in. There were many families left in the rear also. About 12 o'clock at night the army commenced the retreat; at daylight next morning, it reached Peach creek, about ten miles distant, where they halted to rest and get breakfast. While there, heavy explosions were heard, which proved to be the blowing up of liquors left in the stores, the town having been set on fire by parties left behind. * * *

The army resumed its march towards noon, and continued until it reached Burnham's on the Colorado, where it crossed the river and marched down to a point opposite Beason's; here it made a halt for several days. In the meantime, General Sesma formed a camp on the west bank, where the town of Columbus is now situated. His command did not exceed 800 men. While the army lay at this point troops were constantly coming in, until the Texas army, in a few days, increased to fifteen or sixteen hundred men.

THE LIBERTY COMPANY ORGANIZE AND JOIN THE ARMY. * * *
Having arrived at Roberts', * * * an express rides up giving us the sad tidings of the fall of the Alamo, * * * and the retreat of General Houston, after having set fire to Gonzales.
* * *

A DISTRESSING SPECTACLE. On reaching the Brazos bottom, the spectacle we witnessed was agonizing and well calculated to discourage the stoutest heart. The road was filled with carts and wagons loaded with women and children, while other women, for whom there was no room in the wagons, were seen walking, some of them barefoot, some carrying their smaller children in their arms or on their backs, their other children following barefooted; and other women were again seen with but one shoe, having lost the

other in the mud; some of the wagons were broken down; and others again were bogged in the deep mud. * * *

ARRIVAL AT SAN FELIPE. The bottoms presented an uninterrupted succession of such sights, till we reached the ferry opposite San Felipe. * * * Having arrived at Beason's Ferry on the Colorado, we there found General Houston with the army encamped, to whom we reported ourselves 20th March. * * *

During one week while we were encamped on the Colorado, our army increased by daily arrivals from about 600 to 1600 men. In this I know I am correct, as we paraded every day, which gave me an opportunity of making a record of the numbers on the ground, and I made the entry in my journal.

NEWS OF FANNIN'S DEFEAT. * * * Meantime, * * * the painful news of Fannin's defeat was brought into camp by one Peter Carr, whom Houston treated as a spy, putting him under guard. We all, however, believed his report to be true, and it was corroborated by others the next day, after which the numbers in our camp began to diminish rapidly.

EXPEDITION UNDER CARNES. Meantime Gen. Sezma had pitched his camp on the opposite or west bank, and about one mile from the river, and Captain Carnes was authorized to raise a mounted company to cross over and reconnoitre the position of the enemy. * * * Having thus failed in our purpose, we recrossed the river about dark, and having recovered our horses with some difficulty, and having lost most of our provisions, we mounted and returned towards the camp, and reaching it, lo! we found it entirely deserted.

THE RETREAT FROM THE COLORADO. We at once perceived that Houston had commenced his retreat. * * * Finding the army had left, we had nothing to do but to follow, and we did so as well as we could in the night. * * * Many of us declared it was necessary to have a better leader, and that, if we could do no better, we would elect some one better fitted to command. At near day-break we came up with the army at the spring Gen. Houston had named to me. * * * The retreat was continued through this day, and at night we reached the place of Mr. S. M. Williams, about two miles from San Felipe. * * * As Houston had decided on marching up the river some twenty miles opposite Col. Groce's plantation, on giving orders to that effect, Sherman found two com-

panies refused to come into line, and he sent a message to that effect to Houston, who had gone in advance with his staff, when he immediately sent back Col. Hockley to Sherman to put the army in motion, saying, if subordinate commanders were going to disobey orders, the sooner it was ascertained the better. One of the companies was commanded by Capt. Moseley Baker, the other either by Wiley Martin or Bird. The army had not marched far, when Gen. Houston sent an order to Baker to defend the crossing at San Felipe, and to Martin to defend that at Fort Bend. Subsequently Baker set fire to San Felipe and then took his position on the opposite bank of the river, where he defended the crossing till he found the main army was retreating, and then abandoned it. Baker afterwards asserted that he burnt San Felipe by order of Gen. Houston, but the latter denied it. The enemy afterwards finding the crossing at San Felipe defended by Baker, diverged and went down to Fort Bend, the crossing at which place Martin was unable to defend, and there they crossed over.

CAMP AT GROCE'S FERRY—SAN FELIPE BURNT, ETC. Our camp was pitched near a deep ravine. * * * In relation to the burning of San Felipe, I may here remark that on one occasion, in company with J. N. Moreland, I visited Gen. Houston, whom we found lying in his tent. Turning towards us he said: "Moreland, did you ever hear me give orders to burn the town of San Felipe?" His reply was: "General, I have no recollection of it." "Yet they blame me for it," said Houston. * * *

SICKNESS IN CAMP—REORGANIZATION, ETC. While our army lay thus encamped in the Brazos swamp, using stagnant water from the old bed of the river, a great deal of sickness prevailed among the men, which caused serious alarm. It was then deemed proper to organize the army on the best possible plan, and many promotions were made. * * * It was here also that the medical staff was organized, April 6th. To Dr. Phelps was assigned the hospital, which for some weeks before had been kept on Groce's plantation, where a few sick had been sent. Dr. Ewing received the appointment of surgeon-general, and by him Dr. Bower and the writer were appointed surgeons of the first regiment of regulars. The surgeons of the volunteer regiments were appointed by their respective commanders. Burleson of the 1st regiment appointed Doctors Davidson and Fitzhugh, and Sherman of the 2nd regiment

appointed Doctors Anson Jones (late President Jones), and Booker. * * *

Owing to the state of inactivity and the increase of diarrhoea in the army, great discontent and murmuring were manifested among all the officers and men. * * *

SANTA ANNA'S CHALLENGE—TALK OF SUPERSEDING HOUSTON. Meantime the feeling of discontent increased. The news of the burning of San Felipe, of the advance of Santa Anna in person, of his reaching San Felipe and Fort Bend, rendered our men impatient of this delay. * * * Colonel Sidney Sherman had been elected colonel of the second regiment, to which the Liberty company belonged, and while all were saying it was time to be doing something besides lying in idleness and getting sick, upon hearing this challenge, it was declared to be necessary that the army should have another commander, and Colonel Sherman was pointed out as the man best calculated to meet the emergency. This came to the ears of General Houston, who at once caused notices to be written and stuck on trees with wooden pegs, to the effect that the first man who should beat for volunteers, should be court-martialed and shot. One of these notices was pinned to a hickory tree not six feet from the tent of the Liberty company, and Colonel Lynch and others pointed it out to me. J. N. Moreland (who was a strong friend to the commander), and Major Ben Smith and Dr. Ewing, all came to us and desired that no such step, as that spoken of, should be taken, as there was no doubt the camp would break up in a few days.

ROBBIN'S FERRY—ARRIVAL OF THE "TWIN SISTERS." The next day some one from the Red Lands arrived and reported that a company from that section had reached Robbins' ferry on the Trinity, where it had halted, as Mr. Robbins stated it to be the wish of the commander that the company should proceed no farther to the west. In reply, Houston said, in my presence, it was right, and that it was his order for the company to stop there. About this time news came to us that two pieces of artillery had been landed at Harrisburg and would reach the camp within five days. It was this, mainly, that put an end to the movement of beating up for a volunteer commander. * * *

THE CAMP AT GROCE'S BREAKS UP AND CROSSES THE RIVER. Having now possession of these two four-pound pieces, preparations

for the march were at once made, and the whole army soon crossed on the Yellowstone without difficulty. I believe the crossing was commenced on the 12th, and I know it was completed on the 13th and 14th, as my journal is to that effect. * * * The next day, on the 15th, the army marched six miles to Mr. Donohoe's place, and then camped. While the companies were taking the ground allotted them, I observed Captain Moseley Baker (who had just joined us), apparently much absorbed in thought. As Gen. Houston came up he said to him: "General, according to your orders, I have retreated with my company, which is now encamped in good order, three miles above." Then came Captain Martin who said: "General, I have brought but my sword; my company has disbanded. On hearing that you were retreating to Nacogdoches, they declared they would no longer bear arms, but would protect their families, and they have therefore all dispersed." I was then standing within four or five steps of General Houston, and I asked Capt. Baker if his company was on the road to Robbins' ferry. "They are on that road," said he. "But," said I, "are you and your men willing to retreat there?" * * * "No, never, never!" said he; "for if Gen. Houston will not take us to meet the enemy, we will elect a commander who will." This he said in a loud voice, so that Gen. Houston heard it, and turned to us with a nod, and then, finishing his conversation with Capt. Martin, he passed by us suddenly and began cursing the men for taking the fence for firewood. * * *

SICKNESS—DOUBTS AS TO WHICH ROAD WOULD BE TAKEN. The next day, 16th, brought the army to near Mr. Roberts' place, and here a heavy Texas rain poured upon us. * * *

Owing to the conflicting opinions as to which road the army was to take after reaching Mr. Roberts', where it forked, I wanted to satisfy myself on that point, and went to Major Ben Smith, for information. He replied to my inquiry that it was his opinion the army would continue straight on and cross the Trinity at Robbins' ferry. As many were unwilling to go on that road, a halt was expected to be made at Roberts', and as we neared that point (17th April), the writer, with three or four others, galloped to near the advance guard, the captain of which told us he had received no orders, but would go between the two roads. As Gen. Houston was now coming up, several of us desired Mr. Roberts, who was standing on his gate, to point out to all—the road to Harrisburg. Gen.

Houston was then close by, when Roberts raised his hand, and, elevating his voice, cried out: "That right hand road will carry you to Harrisburg just as straight as a compass." A shout was then raised: "To the right, boys, to the right." The whole line was fast closing up as the music had stopped; but upon hearing the shout from the men, the music proceeded to the right. The advance guard, then a quarter of a mile ahead, between the two roads, seeing the music take the right, wheeled also to the right; and then loud and joyous shouts followed in succession. * * *

MRS. MANN AND HER OXEN. Here I first discovered my medicine cart was missing, when I learned that owing to some difficulty with Mrs. Mann about her oxen, it had been left behind. * * * I reached the spot just in time to see Mrs. Mann driving off her yoke of oxen. * * * She said she had loaned her oxen to Gen. Houston to go as far as the ferry on the Trinity, but, as the army had changed its course, she said she would be d—d if the general should have her oxen any longer. * * *

MARCH CONTINUED TO HARRISBURG, ETC. Some six miles further on our march, I observed "Three-legged Willie" galloping up to Gen. Houston. * * * Gen. Houston then ordered him to go with all possible speed to the Red Land company, with directions that they should join the army, as it had now changed its course to Harrisburg. * * * We arrived at Harrisburg about noon, when the smoke at the town told us too plainly to be mistaken, that the enemy had been there before us, and set fire to its buildings. After camping a little below, our spy, Deaf Smith, found means to cross the bayou with a few others; and about 8 o'clock that night, he came back, bringing captive a Mexican express carrier with a pair of deerskin saddlebags full of documents for Santa Anna. These saddlebags had belonged to Travis and had his name upon them. * * * Accordingly the balance of the cavalry joined the main army next morning and crossed Buffalo bayou below the mouth of Sims'. The next day at Bray's bayou, a flat boat was found loaded with corn meal, etc., intended for the division under General Cos, but we found those supplies quite as acceptable to us as they could have been to Cos. By dusk that day the army had all crossed over, Dr. Phelps having been left to attend to some ten or twelve who were sick with the diarrhoea. * * *

SPEECHES TO THE ARMY. * * * Before crossing the bayou,

General Houston made us an animated speech, towards the conclusion of which he said: "The army will cross, and we will meet the enemy." * * *

THE MARCH AND SKIRMISH OF THE 20TH. * * * The spies reported that only the advance guard of the enemy was in sight. Upon examining our rifles we found that they required fresh priming, and then one after another discharged his gun for the purpose of loading afresh. * * * Gen. Houston, who had all along been silent now raised his stentorian voice, crying: "Stop that firing, * * *." Some of us said, "Our guns have been loaded over two weeks, and we will not meet the enemy with them wet," and then, right before his face, bang goes another, and still another. By this time * * * holding his drawn sword, he declared he would run through the first man that would fire. One man, close by myself, said, "General, it won't do for you to try that game on us"; and with the most perfect indifference he fires his rifle as he spoke. The general then gave it up. * * *

SOME TORIES DISCOVERED. We soon discovered some men on the hills beyond Lynchburg, whom we took to be a reinforcement coming from the east. * * * It was found out that they were some of the Texas tories, and had come to pilot Santa Anna across to the Sabine. * * * These men, finding they had mistaken the Texian for the Mexican army, made a hasty retreat and disappeared.

THE FIRST SKIRMISHING. [On the 20th]. * * * As I went along, I met Col. G. W. Hockley, who was handing a letter to an express, saying to him: "Get all the axes in camp, and bring the flat boat down tonight." * * * After he had left the purpose was well understood, to cut trees to enable the army to cross; but the men declared that not a tree should be cut down, but that they would give battle at once. * * *

DARING ATTACK BY SHERMAN AND LAMAR. * * * About 4 o'clock in the evening Col. Sherman asked General Houston's permission to call for mounted volunteers to take their cannon. * * * General Houston reluctantly consented; but before Col. S. could get his men ready for the attack (about seventy having volunteered, among them were Cols. Lamar and Handy), the enemy withdrew their cannon, leaving their cavalry in the prairie. Sherman immediately charged them and drove them back under the

guns of their main body. The Texians, being composed mostly of riflemen mounted for the purpose, were compelled to fall back and dismount, to reload their long rifles. The enemy perceiving their condition * * * dashed down upon them, forcing them to defend themselves as best they could until they were again in their saddles, when they forced the enemy back the second time. In the meantime Santa Anna * * * ordered out several hundred infantry to cut off the retreat of the Texians. * * * While in this situation, Sherman sent Major Wells to bring up Col. Willard's command of regulars, which had been promised him by Houston. * * * Wells soon returned with the mortifying intelligence that Willard's orders had been countermanded. * * * Of course the Texians were compelled to retreat. * * * Thus ended the skirmishing of the 20th. * * *

The number of our men in camp was quite small, * * * now estimated at less than 800. * * *

REINFORCEMENTS TO THE ENEMY. * * * Our spies reported a large number of mules in sight, with pack saddles on. And now there was a general murmur, for most agreed that it was a reinforcement to the enemy. * * * Deaf Smith passed by me, remarking, "* * * the enemy is increasing." * * * Many became clamorous and murmurs were heard to the effect that: "The delays of our commander are continually adding strength to the enemy, and diminishing our own. * * * Today we *must* fight, or never." As this long string of mules disappeared, Deaf Smith * * * remarked: "They have traveled over our track. The bridge at Vince's ought to be burnt down. I will see the general." * * * And two minutes after he rides up to me saying: "* * * The general thinks it a good plan." * * * At about two o'clock he returned and I asked him how he had succeeded. He said: "I first fired it; but it would not burn; and I then cut away a few timbers and made it fall into the bayou." About ten that morning, Col. Wharton visited every mess in camp, and slapping his hands together, he spoke loud and quick: "Boys, there is no other word today but fight, fight! Now is the time!" Every man was eager for it, but all feared another disappointment, as the commander still showed no disposition whatever to lead the men out. * * * Over one-half of the men paraded, expecting orders, but, up to noon, nothing could be

decided; yet the desire of the men only increased the more, until finally Houston said to Wharton: "Fight and be damned." This was enough. Wharton again went among them to prepare them, telling them the order had been given at last. * * * It was past three o'clock when all the arrangements were finally concluded. * * * We found the enemy somewhat unprepared for us at that hour. * * *

HOUSTON ORDERS A HALT. On a sudden a halt is made in obedience to an order. Upon which, Rusk shouts to the top of his voice: "If we stop, we are cut to pieces. Don't stop—go ahead." * * *

VII.

Houston's Speech in the United States Senate.

[This speech was delivered by General Houston in the United States Senate February 28, 1859, and pretends to be a reply to Labadie's account of the San Jacinto campaign, published in the *Texas Almanac* for 1859. (See *supra*, 307-16). It may be found entire in the *Congressional Globe*, 1859, pp. 1433-39. These extracts are taken *passim* from a reprint in the *Texas Almanac*, 1860, 18-35.

Summary: When Houston took command of the army at Gonzales, it numbered 374.

The General placed his baggage wagons at the disposal of the citizens of Gonzales, reserving only one for the transportation of the army, baggage and ammunition.

Gonzales was burned by the rear guard, without instructions.

The general retreated from the Colorado, because he knew that one battle must "decide the fate of Texas," and that if many were wounded there, he would have to sacrifice the army to the wounded, since he had no means of transporting them.

At San Felipe there was a spirit of dissatisfaction in the troops.

At Groce's the general's "efficient" force was 520 men. He would have attempted to surprise Santa Anna at San Felipe, but the swollen condition of the Brazos prevented.

The army took the Harrisburg road at the fork without an order from anybody.

The army which marched from Harrisburg numbered a "little over 700."

A council of war was called at about 12 o'clock on the 21st. The question submitted was, "Shall we attack the enemy in their position, or await their attack in ours?" The council decided to await the attack of the

enemy; but the general determined, notwithstanding their decision, to take the offensive.

Houston alone conceived the idea of destroying Vince's bridge.]

* * * The general proceeded on his way and met many fugitives. The day on which he left Washington, the 6th of March, the Alamo had fallen. He anticipated it and marching to Gonzales as soon as practicable, though his health was infirm, he arrived there on the 11th of March. He found at Gonzales three hundred and seventy-four men, half-fed, half-clad, and half-armed, and without organization. That was the nucleus on which he had to form an army and defend the country. No sooner did he arrive than he sent a dispatch to Col. Fannin, fifty-eight miles, which would reach him in thirty hours, to fall back. He was satisfied that the Alamo had fallen. Col. Fannin was ordered to fall back from Goliad, twenty-five miles, to Victoria, on the Guadalupe, thus placing him within striking distance of Gonzales, for he had only to march twenty-five miles to Victoria to be on the east side of the Colorado, with the only succor hoped for by the general. * * *

Under these circumstances, the confirmation of the fall of the Alamo reached the general. Was it policy to give battle there against an overwhelming force, flushed with victory and the massacre of the Alamo? Was it wisdom in him to put upon the hazard of a die, three hundred and seventy-four men, in the condition in which his troops were, against ten thousand choice, victorious troops of Mexico, backed by a nation of eight million people, when he had only to rely upon the voluntary casualties that might exist to sustain him? What did he do when he first went there? He ordered every wagon but one to be employed in transporting the women and children from the town of Gonzales, and had only four oxen and a single wagon, as he believed, to transport all the baggage and munitions of war belonging to Texas at that point. That was all he had left. He had provided for the women and children. * * *

Though the news of the fall of the Alamo arrived at eight or nine o'clock at night, that night, by eleven o'clock the commander-in-chief had everything in readiness to march, though panic raged, and frenzy seized upon many; and though it took all his personal influence to resist the panic and bring them to composure, with all the encouragement he could use, he succeeded. An example of

composure himself, he at last got the excitement allayed; but not until twenty-five persons had deserted and carried panic with them to the eastern section of the country, as far as the Sabine, announcing the fall and massacre of the Alamo, and the massacre of the troops. He fell back, but fell back in good order.

An incident that I will mention, of the most unpleasant character, occurred on leaving Gonzales. On that night, about twelve miles from there, it was announced to the general that the Mexicans would suffer; that a barrel of gin and a barrel of wine had been poisoned with arsenic, and that, as they came to consume it, it would destroy them. I presume no man ever had such feelings of horror at a deed being perpetrated of this kind, * * * but, fortunately, the rear guard, without direction, set fire to the place on leaving it. * * *

At Peach creek, fifteen miles from Gonzales, he met a reinforcement of one hundred and twenty-five men, but out of these one hundred and twenty-five men, ere morning twenty-five had again deserted, owing to the terrible details that were brought of the massacre of the Alamo. With that addition his force only amounted to four hundred and seventy-four men that remained with him. The next day he met a detachment of thirty-five men, and anticipating that he would make a stand at the Colorado, as he found it impossible to make a stand at Gonzales, appointed an aide-de-camp, Major William T. Austin, and dispatched him for artillery to the mouth of the Brazos for the purpose of enabling him, on arriving at the Colorado, to make a stand—for he had not a single piece of ordnance, not a cartridge, or a ball. The aide-de-camp departed with the assurance that within seven or eight days he would have it on the Colorado, at Beason's. In the meantime, and to show that the general was not a fugitive, or that he was not disposed to expose anyone to hazard, he was informed on the Navidad, fifteen miles from the Colorado, that a blind woman, with six children, had been passed by, as she was not residing on the road, but off at a distance. He immediately ordered two of his aides-de-camp, with a company of men, to go and bring her up. * * * He then halted at the Colorado four days, until the last hoof and the last human being that was a fugitive had passed over. He had permitted none to remain behind exposed to the ruthless enemy.

There he remained [at Beason's] until the news of Fannin's disaster came. * * *

The general fell back from the Colorado. The artillery had not yet arrived. He had every reason to believe that the check given to General Sesma, opposite to his camp on the west bank of the Colorado, would induce him to send for reinforcements, and that Fannin having been massacred, a concentration of the enemy would necessarily take place, and that an overwhelming force would soon be upon him. He knew that one battle must be decisive of the fate of Texas. If he fought a battle and many of his men were wounded, he could not transport them, and he would be compelled to sacrifice the army to the wounded. He determined to fall back, and did so, and on falling back received an accession of three companies that had been ordered from the mouth of the Brazos. He heard no word of the artillery, for none had reached there, nor did it ever start for the army; and it was years before he knew that his orders had been countermanded, and his aide-de-camp withdrawn from him. * * * He [the general] marched and took possession on the Brazos, with as much expedition as was consistent with his situation; but at San Felipe he found a spirit of dissatisfaction in the troops. The government had removed east. It had left Washington and gone to Harrisburg, and the apprehension of the settlers had been awakened and increased rather than decreased. The spirits of the men were bowed down. Hope seemed to have departed, and with the little band alone remained anything like a consciousness of strength.

At San Felipe objection was made to marching up the Brazos. It was said that settlements were down below and persons interested were there. The oxen could not be found for the march in the morning, of a certain company. The general directed that they should follow as soon as the oxen were collected. He marched up the Brazos, and crossing Mill creek, encamped there. An express was sent to him, asking his permission for that company to go down the Brazos to Fort Bend, and to remain there. Knowing it arose from a spirit of sedition, he granted that permission, and they marched down. On the Brazos the efficient force under his command amounted to five hundred and twenty. He remained there from the last of March until the 13th of April. On his arrival at the Brazos, he found that the rains had been excessive. He had no

means of operating against the enemy. They marched to San Felipe, within eighteen miles of him, and would have been liable to surprise at any time had it not been for the high waters of the Brazos, which prevented him from marching upon them by surprise. Thus, he was pent up. The portion of the Brazos in which he was became an island. The water had not been for years so high.

On arriving at the Brazos, he found that the *Yellowstone*, a very respectable steamboat, had gone up the river for the purpose of transporting cotton. She was seized by order of the general, to enable him, if necessary, to pass the Brazos at any moment, and was detained with a guard on board. * * * The general had taken every precaution possible to prevent the enemy from passing the Brazos below. He had ordered every craft to be destroyed on the river. * * * But by a *ruse*, they obtained the only boat that was in that part of the country where a command was stationed. * * * And thus Santa Anna obtained an opportunity of transporting his artillery and army across the Brazos. * * * The encampment on the Brazos was the point at which the first piece of artillery was ever received by the army. * * * Two small six-pounders, presented by the magnanimity of the people of Cincinnati, and subsequently called the "Twin Sisters," were the first pieces of artillery that were used in Texas. From thence, the march commenced at Donoho's, three miles from Groce's. It had required several days to cross the Brazos, with the horses and wagons.

General Rusk had arrived in camp on the 4th of April. He was then Secretary of War—Colonel Rusk—and as a friend of the commander-in-chief, he was received. He was superseded,¹ and Mr. Thomas was acting Secretary of War. * * * The commander-in-chief camped, three miles from the Brazos timber, and with unusual vigilance preserved the forces together, only a few deserting. They were then east of the Brazos and the settlements were east of them. * * * The road from San Felipe, situated below the army on the Brazos, led to eastern Texas on the Sabine. The road to Harrisburg crossed it at right angles, going south. The general had provided a guide acquainted with the country, as it was a portion in

¹Rusk was not superseded.—E. C. B.

which he had never been. * * * As the troops filed out in the direction of Harrisburg, without an intimation being given to any one, two companies that had been stationed at San Felipe and below that on the Brazos, and ordered to concentrate at Donoho's, arrived. The officers were sullen and refractory; they had "not eaten."

* * * At that moment a negro came up, and said he had been made a prisoner by the Mexicans and was released, and announced the fact that Santa Anna had crossed the Brazos, and was marching to Harrisburg. These companies were ordered into line. One of them obeyed; the other objected to going, as they had no refreshments. The whole management, and the entire responsibility of every movement at that time devolved upon the general. He told the refractory captain, whom he had known for many years, to march directly to the Trinity and protect the women and children, if the Indians should prove turbulent; and at all events to kill beef for them, and see that their supplies were sufficient. The general acted upon no orders given to him during the campaign; but assumed the sole responsibility of all his acts.

* * * The remarkable success of the march brought the army in a little time to Harrisburg, opposite which it halted. Deaf Smith—known as such—his proper name was Erasmus¹ Smith—had gone over by rafts with other spies, and, after crossing, arrested two couriers and brought them into camp. Upon them was found a buckskin wallet containing dispatches of General Filisola to General Santa Anna, as well as from Mexico, and thereby we were satisfied that Santa Anna had marched to San Jacinto with the *elite* of his army, and we resolved to push on. Orders were given by the general immediately to prepare rations for three days, and to be at an early hour in readiness to cross the bayou. The next morning we find that the commander-in-chief addressed a note in pencil to Henry Raguet, of Nacogdoches, in these words:

CAMP AT HARRISBURG, April 19, 1836.

"SIR: This morning we are in preparation to meet Santa Anna. It is the only chance of saving Texas. From time to time I have looked for reinforcements in vain. The convention adjourning to Harrisburg struck *panic* throughout the country. Texas could have started at least four thousand men. We will only have about

¹It was really *Erastus*.—E. C. B.

seven hundred to march with, besides the camp guard. We go to conquer. It is wisdom, growing out of necessity, to meet the enemy now; every consideration enforces it. No previous occasion would justify it." * * *

This letter was signed by the commander-in-chief.

A crossing was effected by the evening, and the line of march was taken up. The force amounted to a little over seven hundred men. The camp guard remained opposite Harrisburg. * * * The army * * * took up the line of march for San Jacinto, for the purpose of cutting off Santa Anna below the junction of the San Jacinto and Buffalo Bayou. It was necessary for Santa Anna to cross the San Jacinto to unite with the Mexicans in Nacogdoches county, and incite the Indians to war. Santa Anna had provided a boat through the instrumentality of Texans who had joined him, and was in readiness to cross. He had marched down to New Washington, some seven or eight miles below the San Jacinto, and was returning to take up his march eastward. After sunrise sometime, the army having halted to slaughter beeves and refresh, the signal was given that our scouts had encountered those of the enemy; eating was suspended, everything packed, and we were on the march. We marched down to the ferry of San Jacinto and then halted. * * *

* * * The enemy, within about three hundred yards, I think, took position with their artillery and infantry, and opened fire from a twelve-pounder. It continued until evening. At length Santa Anna ordered his infantry to advance. They were advancing when our artillery was ordered to fire upon them; * * * they returned in such haste and confusion to their encampment that it inspirited our troops, and caused the welkin to ring. * * *

In the evening, the general ordered a reconnoitering party under Colonel Sherman, to reconnoiter; but they were ordered not to go within the fire of the enemy's guns, or to provoke an attack. * * * No sooner was he out of sight than a firing commenced, with a view, as Sherman himself declared, of bringing on a general action, in violation of the general's orders. Confusion was the result of it. * * * This was done in direct violation of the general's orders; for it was not his intention to bring on a general action that day. The guards that night were doubled. The next day, about nine o'clock, troops were discovered advancing

along the prairie ridge in the direction of the Mexican encampment, which produced some excitement. The general, not wishing the impression to be received that they were reinforcements, suggested that it was a *ruse* of the Mexicans; that they were the same troops that were seen yesterday; that they were marching around the swell of the prairie for the purpose of display because they were apprehensive of an attack by the Texans. He sent out two spies secretly—Deaf Smith and Karnes—upon their track, with directions to report to him privately. They did so, and reported that the reinforcements the enemy had thus received amounted to five hundred and forty.

Things remained without any change until about twelve o'clock, when the general was asked to call a council of war. No council of war had ever been solicited before. It seemed strange to him.

* * * The council was called, however, consisting of six field officers and the Secretary of War. The proposition was put to the council, "Shall we attack the enemy in position or receive their attack in ours?" The two junior officers—for such is the way of taking the sense of courts in the army—were in favor of attacking the enemy in position. The four seniors, and the Secretary of War, who spoke, said, that "to attack veteran troops with raw militia is a thing unheard of; to charge upon the enemy without bayonets, in an open prairie, had never been known; our situation is strong; in it we can whip all Mexico." Understanding this as the sense of the council, the general dismissed them. * * *

In the morning the sun had risen brightly, and he determined, with this omen, "Today the battle shall take place." In furtherance of that, * * * he sent for the commissary-general, Colonel Forbes, and ordered him to procure two axes, and place them at a particular tree, which he designated in the margin of the timber. He sent for Deaf Smith, and told him at his peril, not to leave the camp that day without orders; that he would be wanted, and for him to select a companion in whom he had unbounded reliance. His orders were obeyed. After the council was dismissed the general sent for Deaf Smith and his comrade, Reeves, who came mounted, when he gave them the axes so as not to attract the attention of the troops. * * *

* * * The general announced to them: "You will be speedy if you return in time for the scenes that are to be enacted here."

They executed the order, and when the troops with the general were within sixty yards of the enemy's front, when charging, Deaf Smith returned and announced that the bridge was cut down. It had been preconcerted to announce that the enemy had received no reinforcement. It was announced to the army for the first time; for the idea that the bridge would be cut down was never thought of by any one but the general himself, until he ordered it to be done, and then only known to Smith and his comrade. It would have made the army polemics if it had known that Vince's bridge was to be destroyed, for it cut off all means of escape for either army. There was no alternative but victory or death. * * * It has been denied that the bridge was cut down by order of the general. It was said to be the promptings of Deaf Smith. * * * It was announced in the official report of the battle, in which the commanding general says: * * * "having in the meantime ordered the bridge on the only road communicating with the Brazos, distant eight miles from our encampment, to be destroyed, thus cutting off all possibility of escape." * * *

"I ordered them," is the language that is used in the official report of the general, that has remained uncontroverted until this time. * * *

* * * But, Mr. President, it is proper to remark, that previous to the order for the demolition of the bridge, and during the early part of the day, two officers came to the commander-in-chief and asked him if it would not be well to construct a bridge across the bayou, immediately opposite the encampment, which was, perhaps, some seventy or hundred yards wide at tide water. The general, to get rid of them remarked, "Is there material?" and told them to see. They went, and after returning, reported that by demolishing Governor Zavala's house, a bridge might be constructed. The general observed to them that other arrangements might suit better, and cast them off. So soon as the general supposed the bridge destroyed or cut down, he ordered Colonel Bennett to go around to the captains and men of Sherman's regiment to see what their spirits were; whether they were cheerful, and whether he thought them desirous for a battle. Colonel Bennett reported favorably. They were ordered to parade. * * *

With the exception of the commander-in-chief, no gentleman in the army had ever been in a general action, or even witnessed one.

* * * The commander-in-chief requested the Secretary of War to take command of the left wing. * * * About all the silly and scandalous charges made against the general as to ordering a halt during the action, and after he was wounded, leaving the field, * * * I will, as authority, refer to the report of the Secretary of War, Gen. Rusk, and see what he says in relation to that. In this report to the President, *ad interim*, he says:

"Major-General Houston acted with great gallantry, encouraging his men to the attack, and heroically charged, in front of the infantry, within a few yards of the enemy, receiving at the same time a wound in his leg. * * *

From this time no hostile gun was fired. The last detachment of the enemy immediately surrendered. * * *

They have charged the commander-in-chief with having more troops than he reported. Seven hundred on the Colorado was the number, according to the statement of Colonel Burleson, as he supposed; the general-in-chief never reported more than six hundred and thirty-two; his efficient force never exceeded over seven hundred troops at any one point. * * * But by cutting off their retreat, by the commander-in-chief's own design of destroying the bridge, and leading his troops into action at the proper time, he secured for Texas all that wisdom and valor could have done, whether he exercised them or not.

The commander-in-chief * * * never received an order from the Secretary of War. * * * He never intimated that he would march towards the Trinity, but gave orders to the troops to unite at Donoho's. * * *

VIII.

Burnet's Narrative of the Campaign.

[These extracts are taken *passim* from "A Compendium of the History of Texas," in the *Texas Almanac*, 1860, 50-67. The compendium runs through the *Almanac* from 1857 to 1862, and though anonymous, it is well established that it was written by David G. Burnet, the first president of the Republic of Texas. This installment was a reply to Houston's speech of February 28, 1859, in the United States Senate. (See *supra*, 317-25.)

Summary: Houston had more than 400 men at Gonzales.

When the retreat commenced the pickets were left out unnotified, and the only two cannon were thrown into the river.

The retreat from Gonzales was "an absolute necessity."

The Texan army at Beason's was from 1200 to 1500 strong.

While Houston was at Groce's, General Rusk was sent to him by the cabinet to urge him into action; the President also sent him a letter advising him to fight.

While at Groce's, Houston dispatched an express, ordering all reinforcements from the east to halt at Robbins's Ferry, on the Trinity, until the army joined them.

There was an arrangement among the volunteers to elect a new commander, in case Houston refused to take the Harrisburg road near Don-oho's.

At San Jacinto, Houston went into battle very reluctantly.

Deaf Smith *begged* permission to destroy Vince's bridge.]

* * * As a member of the Convention, a position quite incompatible with his higher and more pressing duties, Gen. Houston was of no practical utility. He asked and received a renewal of his commission as commander-in-chief. This was a useless consumption of time; for all, civil and military, recognized him as such as fully before as after the reappointment. * * * After being urged by members of the Convention to hasten to the suffering army, he left Washington on the 6th of March for Gonzales, where a number of volunteers had assembled. * * *

The same express that gave intelligence of the fall of the Alamo, told, also, that Gen. Houston and his little army were in rapid retreat from Gonzales. This was calculated, and did contribute to the general excitement. * * *

But * * * we must refer to the events at Gonzales. * * * Major Heard says:

"I arrived at Gonzales on 6th March, 1836. Some four or five days after I got there, Gen. Houston arrived. On the 13th, Mrs. Dickinson and a negro boy belonging to Col. Travis arrived in camp, bringing the first reliable information of the fall of the Alamo. On the night of the 13th, about the time the men were preparing their night's repast, Gen. Houston came down and ordered the horses to be got up, and the fires put out; after which such a scramble and confusion commenced as I had never witnessed. About 10 o'clock at night we were ordered to move, by whom I do

not recollect; * * *. As to guards, we had none; there was no order or regularity in the retreat from there to Peach Creek, ten miles east. The town of Gonzales was burnt; by whose order I do not know, but believe it was by Gen. Houston's, for the reason that it was generally talked of and believed so to be in camp. Captain Bird Lockhart, who arrived in Gonzales on the morning of the 14th, when it was on fire, told me that the men who were setting fire to the houses said they were left there by Gen. Houston, to burn the town and gather up the horses. Some of the women and children had started before we did; some started with us, and we left others crying and screaming in the town. Some we passed on the road that night between Gonzales and Peach Creek.

(Signed)

"W. I.¹ E. HEARD,

"ELI MERCER."

In a later communication, Major Heard says:

"I never heard one word about *poisoned liquor* of any kind (at Gonzales)." * * *

The retreat from Gonzales was so hurried, that the picket guard was left at its post without notice to withdraw. Two small pieces of artillery were thrown into the river Guadalupe. * * *

Major Heard estimated the forces at Gonzales over four hundred men; and says they all had their rifles with abundant ammunition, and there was no want of provisions. After the arrival of Gen. Houston, the brave Burleson was elected colonel, and Sherman lieutenant-colonel. The volunteers were not without such "organization" as had achieved the most brilliant victories of Texas. * * *

The retreat from Gonzales was inevitable, an absolute necessity. The grand error had consisted in choosing two feeble, isolated positions, Goliad and San Antonio, as the bases of defensive operations. * * *

The retreat was continued in more order to Burnham's, on the west side of the Colorado, where the army arrived on the 17th of March. It remained there two days, then crossed the river and descended its left bank to Beason's. Burnham's buildings were destroyed soon after leaving them; it was generally understood in camp by the order of Gen. Houston. The army tarried a considerable time at Beason's in recuperative inactivity. * * * The

¹This should be J.—E. C. B.

army at Beason's received daily accessions of men, who came to fight the enemy. * * *

Almost simultaneously with Houston's arrival at Beason's the Mexican Gen. Sesma, with a force variously estimated at 600 to 800 men (sixty or seventy being cavalry) and two field pieces, took position on the right bank of the Colorado. * * * There is no one matter of fact connected with this campaign that has been more controverted and misstated, than the number of men composing the army at the Colorado. * * *

Col. Ben. F. Smith, Acting Quartermaster and Adjt.-General, says: "The number of men * * * was about 1360;" * * * This was sworn to. Ex-President Anson Jones says: "We had, by the report of the day, over 1500 men (I think 1570)" * * *

Major Wm. I. E. Heard—his communication being signed by Eli Meroer—says: "Our numerical force was from 1500 to 1600 men, the morning the army left the Colorado." * * *

Col. Amasa Turner, * * * says: * * * "I am confident I am not mistaken. The morning report, including Sherman's command, was 1464, rank and file. Rowan's and Fisher's companies joined at the first camp (after the retreat), five miles from the Colorado. These would swell the number to 1568, at the five mile camp." We have a printed handbill, issued by Capt. John Sharp, and dated Brazoria, March 27, 1836, in which the following occurs: "Our army now encamped at or near Beason's, on the Colorado, consists of 1000 to 1200 men, and reinforcements coming in hourly. * * * On my way down, I met several small companies pushing on for our camp; and those that came from the eastward, report from 300 to 500 men on their way from that quarter." * * *

From a letter by Col. James Tarleton * * * dated November 6, 1855, * * * we extract the following: "Gen. Houston's little army was at least 1800 strong the morning he ordered the * * * retreat from the Colorado." * * *

The army remained at Beason's from the 18th,¹ noon, to the 27th March. During this entire period, Gen. Sesma was on the other side of the Colorado, within striking distance, and with certainly not over 800 men, not more than sixty or seventy of them being mounted. He had one piece of artillery. * * * Col. Sherman

¹It arrived at Beason's on the 20th.—E. C. B.

solicited Gen. Houston to permit him to cross with his division of 350 to 400 men, and attack Sesma, perfectly confident of his ability to rout him, with small loss; * * * This request was peremptorily refused, and Sherman was ordered by no means to provoke an attack by the enemy.

On the 20th of March Col. Fannin surrendered, and on the 27th the tremendous massacre was perpetrated. * * *

On the morning of the 27th¹ the retreat was resumed, and on the 28th the army arrived at San Felipe on the Brazos; * * *

Capt. Mosely Baker, with a company of 120 men, tarried at San Felipe, while the main army, now reduced to nearly one-half, pushed onward to Groce's Crossing, which they reached, greatly fatigued in body and mind, on the 31st March. Gen. Houston took position in a muddy, insulated area, within the Brazos bottom, where he continued some twelve days, and where disease soon invaded his camp.

Santa Anna, being informed of the retreat of the Texans from the Colorado, and that Sesma also had effected a passage of that stream, repaired with expedition to the headquarters of that chief, and took personal command of his division, still numbering not over 800 men,² with one field-piece, a 12-pounder. * * * On the 7th April he reached San Felipe, or its smouldering ruins. Capt. Baker, being apprised of the enemy's approach, set fire to the town, after removing what was movable, and reduced it to ashes.³ This one fact, the burning of San Felipe, has elicited a diametrical contradiction between Gen. Houston and his subaltern. The former alleges unequivocally that it was not done by his order. Capt. Baker made a formal deposition before the Auditorial Court, a special judicature got up in 1838 for the liquidation of claims against the government, that Gen. Houston did, by writing in pencil, order him to burn the town. * * *

About this period, President Burnet and the cabinet being averse

¹Houston began to fall back from the Colorado late in the afternoon of the 26th.—E. C. B.

²General Tolsa had come up on the 24th, increasing Sesma's force to 1400 men; but none of the Texans seem to have known it at the time.—E. C. B.

³This was done on March 29.—E. C. B.

to the retreating policy of the Commander-in-Chief, it was determined that the Secretary of War, Col. Thomas J. Rusk, should repair to the army, and inaugurate a better and more effective system of strategy. As this also is a controverted point, we subjoin a note from Col. William T. Austin, one of the heroes of San Antonio:

To Messrs. Richardson, Editors, etc.

GENTLEMEN: * * * I beg to say, that when on a visit to the official apartment of President Burnet, in Harrisburg, in the month of April, 1836, he informed me that a meeting of his cabinet had taken place, and had resulted in a determination to send Col. Thomas J. Rusk (then Secretary of War), to the field with orders to stop a further retreat of the army, and to bring the enemy to battle. While conversing on this subject, the Secretary of the Navy, Col. Potter, came in with the order to Col. Rusk, which he read to the President in my presence. * * *

The order to Col. Rusk went on to ignore the propriety of our army making a further retreat, * * *. Col. Rusk was therefore ordered to repair to the headquarters of the army, and to compel it to take up a position before the enemy, and bring him to battle at the first favorable position possible. * * * The President * * * stated that Col. Rusk was then being sent to the field with authority to take charge and command of the army, if necessary to carry out the policy indicated in the order. * * *

(Signed)

Yours, etc.,

WILLIAM T. AUSTIN.

Galveston, May 23d, 1859.

In accordance with the above mentioned order, Col. Rusk left Harrisburg about the first of April, and arrived at the army while it lay among the foul and turbid lagoons of the Brazos bottom. * * * President Burnet, hearing of no change in the movements of the army, * * * addressed a note to Gen. Houston, which we insert. * * *

EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT, HARRISBURG, April, 1836.

To Gen. Sam Houston.

SIR: The enemy are laughing you to scorn. You must fight them. You must retreat no farther. The country expects you to fight. The salvation of the country depends on your doing so.

DAVID G. BURNET.

* * * * *

Previous to leaving the Brazos, Gen. Houston dispatched an officer (Major Diggs) to the Trinity, with orders to stop all volunteers. * * * It was received by Gen. Quitman, who was hastening on to join the Texian army, * * *

Santa Anna * * * on the 9th April marched down the river to Fort Bend * * * and crossed on the 12th instant. * * * He marched directly and hastily for Harrisburg. * * * He established his headquarters there on the 18th April.¹ * * * He burnt Harrisburg. * * *

The position of the invading army, at this period and for some time previous, was singularly injudicious, and exposed to a rapid destruction in detail. Santa Anna's immediate command was something over seven hundred men, with one field-piece. Urrea was at Matagorda, with some twelve hundred men; Gaona (diverging from his original route) was lost in the country between Bastrop and San Felipe, with seven hundred and twenty-five men; Filisola about to cross the Brazos low down, with two thousand more. (*Yoakum*, in part, Vol. II, 122.)

General Houston broke up at the Brazos on the 16th April, and marched to Donohue's,² a few miles in the prairie. Here the road to the Trinity forked, the right-hand prong leading to Harrisburg, and here much excitement occurred. * * *

Ex-President Anson Jones says: "Gen. Houston intended to cross the Neches (not the Sabine) without fighting. At Donohue's he was *compelled*, by the unanimous sense of the army, to deflect from the road, and go to Harrisburg." * * *

Major Heard and Eli Mercer say: "We believe that Gen. Houston intended to take the road to the Trinity when he arrived at the fork at Donohue's because he had sent Major Diggs, with another individual, to Robbins' ferry, on the Trinity, to stop all recruits coming to the army at that place. The men believing this to be his intention, made no secret of their dissatisfaction, and there was an arrangement among them, that in case he took the road to the Trinity with his regulars, the volunteers would call out for a

¹Santa Anna arrived the night of the 15th, and left on the 18th.—E. C. B.

²He encamped at Donoho's the night of the 14th, and reached McCurley's, where it seems another road diverged to the Trinity, on the 16th.—E. C. B.

leader to go at their head to Harrisburg to meet the enemy, all of which we believe was known to Gen. Houston, and which we think was the cause of his turning in that direction. In our march from Donohue's, we came to a fork in the road, one leading to Harrisburg, the other to San Jacinto, eastward. Gen. Houston and a part of the army had passed the fork, taking the latter route, when the army came to a halt, and well nigh to mutiny, the volunteers wishing to cross at Harrisburg and meet the enemy, and we believe Gen. Houston was going eastward. Finally it was agreed to cross Buffalo Bayou about two miles below Harrisburg, and we took a middle route to that place." Major Heard commanded a company of volunteers at this time.

Ex-Governor Robinson, under date of January 4, 1847, says: "In the campaign of 1836, Gen. Houston manifested the strongest determination to retreat to the Red lands, or across the Sabine, and was only prevented by President Burnet's order, sent by the Secretary of War, Gen. Thomas J. Rusk, who urged and commanded him to abandon his retreat and take the road to Harrisburg. * * * President Burnet's order, and the command of Gen. Rusk, were powerfully aided by an almost united resolution by the men to meet and fight the enemy." * * *

Gen. Sherman, under date February 3d, 1847, says: "I do believe Gen. Houston intended to take the road to the Trinity, when he arrived at the fork near Donohue's; but that he would have been constrained by the troops to take the road to Harrisburg, there is not the least doubt, had not the Secretary of War issued him a peremptory order, requiring him to take the Harrisburg road." * * *

He * * * took the Harrisburg fork of the road. The now reconciled troops moved with alacrity, and arrived at Buffalo Bayou, about two miles below the town, still smouldering in its ruins, before midday of the 18th instant. Here they halted for the night. The ever vigilant Deaf Smith was out as usual, scouting, and captured a Mexican courier bearing dispatches to Santa Anna. * * * It was on this evening, too, that the epistle to Mr. H. Raguette, of Nacogdoches, was indited.¹

* * * * *

The Texian army was excited [in camp at San Jacinto] by

¹The letter is printed in *Yoakum*, II, 498; also *supra*, 321.

rumors that an order had been given by the commander-in-chief to construct a floating bridge across Buffalo Bayou. * * * Col. Amasa Turner * * * says: "It was current in the army that Gen. Houston was not disposed to fight, but to build a floating bridge across the bayou. This was very unpopular, the men saying they would not work to build a bridge." * * * Major Heard says: "On the morning of the 21st there was a council of war held. After it adjourned, I asked Col. Somervell what they determined on: he told me, nothing; that Houston had proposed to build a bridge across Buffalo Bayou, but the other members of the council would not agree to it." * * *

Gen. M. B. Lamar says (*Galveston News*, June 23, 1855): "Some time after the council of war, I met Gen. Houston, and expressed to him the strong desire of the army to make battle. He replied merely as follows: 'Sir, can I whip Santa Anna and his whole army by myself? Would you have me attack them alone? The officers are all opposed to fighting, and so are the men. I have always been ready to fight, but the army has not, and how can I battle?' * * * At the moment we were all preparing for battle, and his lines were actually forming, Houston came to me and said, * * * 'Col. Lamar, do you really think we ought to fight?'" * * *

Our estimable friend, Major Heard, says: "About 11 o'clock on the 21st (April) Deaf Smith rode up to Gen. Houston and said: I want you to let me go and burn Vince's bridge. Houston objected, * * * Smith insisted on burning the bridge, to prevent any more reinforcements from joining Santa Anna. Houston, after a good deal of altercation, consented, and Deaf Smith and Moses Lappum went and *burned* the bridge." * * *

The battle of San Jacinto has been described, * * * The opposing forces were about equal, something over seven hundred each, the Mexicans somewhat superior, until the morning of the 21st, when the arrival of Gen. Cos with some 500 men, gave a large numerical preponderance to the hostile camp. * * *

The Secretary of War, Col. Rusk, was in the field as an *amateur*. He took no specific command, and pretended to none.

IX.

R. J. Calder's Recollections of the Campaign.

[The paper from which this is taken *passim* was published in the *Texas Almanac*, 1861, 62-70. The writer was a captain of volunteers, was with the army from Gonzales to San Jacinto, and tells his story clearly and dispassionately.

Summary: The Texans had about 1400 men at the Colorado. Houston declared that he knew he could have defeated Sesma's division here, but he would necessarily have had men wounded in the engagement, and he had no means of transporting these; that he really had not enough wagons to transport a sufficiency of ammunition.

The writer believes that Houston's long delay at Groce's was for purposes of discipline.

At the fork of the roads leading to Harrisburg and to East Texas Calder's company was in the advance guard. They halted for a short time, and then received an order to take the Harrisburg road. Captain Calder does not remember to have heard of any "altercation" or "mutinous conduct" at this point.

A refusal by the commander-in-chief to fight at San Jacinto would have produced a general mutiny.

About 3 o'clock in the afternoon of the 21st, Colonel Burleson took the vote of the captains of his regiment upon whether the army should attack Santa Anna immediately, or wait until 4 o'clock the next morning. All except Calder and Moseley Baker voted for immediate attack.

Houston had a real reluctance to fight at San Jacinto, and desired, in case of defeat, to fall back upon the excuse that he fought against his better judgment.]

* * * The brief period spent at Gonzales in organizing our little army was barren of incident, * * * That night we commenced a retreat to the Colorado, and were joined daily by volunteers from the country west of the Trinity, but by very few east of that stream. On arriving at the Colorado, a detachment of some one hundred and fifty or two hundred men were left at Dewees' ferry, and the main army encamped for several days on the east side of the Colorado, about a mile (as near as I can recollect) from the river, and opposite Beason's. The writer was left with a detachment from Captain Splann's company, in addition to his own, at Beason's, on the west bank of the river, under the immediate command of Major Benjamin F. Smith.

The morning after taking our position, Major Smith left our

encampment at Beason's with about one hundred men, to skirmish with the enemy. After an absence of about an hour, they returned, bringing intelligence that the advance of the enemy was close at hand, and ordered our detachment to the east side of the river.

* * *

I think about the third or fourth day after crossing the Colorado, a detachment of some two hundred mounted volunteers were sent over the river to skirmish with the enemy. * * * They returned, after a short absence, without reporting any positive results from their enterprise. * * *

Here there was a strong desire on the part of a large portion of the army to attack this division of the enemy, numbering about seven hundred men, and a considerable murmuring was heard at the commander-in-chief's refusal to gratify this desire. That we might have routed them, I have *no doubt*. I think our muster-rolls showed that we had some fourteen hundred men at the time.

* * * General Houston rode alongside me, and, after a courteous salutation, requested my views of the movements of the army. I replied * * * I thought, however, we might have whipped the Mexicans we left at the Colorado; but I supposed his policy would be to draw the enemy into the heart of the country * * * where a defeat to the enemy would be final and complete. To this, General Houston replied: * * * "To be sure, we could have whipped the Mexicans back at the Colorado; but we can't fight battles without having men killed and wounded. But we actually have not the means of conveying as much ammunition and baggage as we need, much less the means of conveying wounded men after an action; besides, a defeat to the enemy at the Colorado would inevitably have concentrated the other divisions of the Mexican army against us." He further remarked that we would take some eligible position on the Brazos, at San Felipe, or in its vicinity, and, having the advantage of the steamboat,¹ we would drop down or go up, as the case might be, and give the enemy battle. * * *

Much has been said of our encampment [at Groce's], and the motives which impelled General Houston to encamp and remain

¹This allusion to the steamboat is probably anachronistic; it is doubtful whether Houston knew anything about it until his arrival at San Felipe. (See *supra*, 320).—E. C. B.

there as long as he did. My own impressions have always been that it was for discipline. * * *

After we left the Brazos, much has been said of a disorderly movement in our army, occurring at the forks of the roads leading to Harrisburg and Eastern Texas. I will only state, under this head, that my company formed the advance guard of the army on that and the previous day, and to the best of my recollection, after a short halt at that point, I received an order to take the right-hand road. I do not recollect to have seen or heard of any altercation, nor do I think there was any mutinous conduct.

On the day we reached Harrisburg the hearts of our little army were cheered by the capture of a Mexican officer, and a courier bearing dispatches from the Mexican officers in Texas to the government at home.¹ * * *

* * * And the next morning the whole army commenced crossing, and got over in marching order, I think about sundown, including one hundred and fifty mounted volunteers under the command of the gallant and efficient colonel of the Second regiment, Sidney Sherman. The balance of the army under the rank of a field or staff officer were dismounted and their horses and baggage left at Harrisburg, Captain P. B. Splann's company having been detached to guard the sick and baggage. * * *

[20th] Our Mexican *friends*, finding our position a good one, made some show of attack, their cavalry menacing our right, their artillery playing upon us, and slightly wounding two of our men; but finding no impression was made, they fell back to a position about half a mile from ours, still keeping up a fire upon our encampment with a 9-pounder (I think) from a small mot of timber about four or five hundred yards from our encampment, until Colonel Sherman commenced to muster his mounted men to dislodge them and take their cannon, when it was covertly removed to their main body in the rear.

The gallant colonel was not to be balked, however, of his chance of a brush. He made a dash for the cannon, but finding it had been removed, * * * he made an attempt at the enemy's cav-

¹This is a mistake. The officer was bearing dispatches to Santa Anna from the government, while the courier was returning to Santa Anna from General Filisola's encampment at Fort Bend.—E. C. B.

alry. I think his view must have been thus to bring on a general engagement. * * *

The next morning, the 21st of April, there was a restless and anxious spirit pervading the camp; * * * rumor said that the Mexicans had been largely reinforced at an early hour that morning; and for once rumor did not lie. General Cos had effected a junction that morning with the commander-in-chief, Santa Anna; and it was further said that we were to cross the bayou, by some means, perhaps by making a raft of Zavala's house, and continue our retreat to the east. I do not recollect to have heard a single man hint that he was in favor of such a move. * * * Hence, if there was an idea of retreat, as has been charged, it was certainly not based on the remotest disposition of those who were to meet the charge of the enemy, nor was any such idea based on prudence, as, in my humble judgment, refusal to fight on the part of the commander-in-chief would have mutinied the greater part, if not the entire army.

After the reinforcements of the enemy had crossed in the morning of the 21st, as above stated, our commander-in-chief ordered Deaf Smith to take a party and demolish the bridge over Vince's bayou, which was done accordingly; and about the hour of three or four o'clock in the afternoon, our colonel, Edward Burleson, rode along the line of encampment of his regiment, and ordered the captains of the same to meet him * * * forthwith. They followed on, * * * when our colonel told us he wished to take our vote upon the best time for attacking the enemy—whether immediately or at four o'clock the next morning. All the captains but Mosely Baker and myself voted for immediate attack; Baker and myself for four o'clock in the morning. Upon which we were ordered to parade our companies for immediate action.

* * * As so much has been said about General Houston's reluctance to fight on that occasion, I will simply give my own conclusions, without charging him with, or believing he felt a positive reluctance to fight. I think he wished, in case of failure or disaster, an apology, to wit, that he fought against his own judgment, and suffered himself to be controlled by the opinions and clamor of his officers and men. * * *

The fire from our division was delivered when we were within sixty yards of the foe. * * * The action was very poorly con-

tested on the part of the enemy. * * * Just before sunset the pursuit and massacre was brought to a sudden stand by Colonel Almonte's halting the terrified Mexicans in a solid body or column, and making a formal surrender. * * *

X.

Zuber's Account of the Camp at Harrisburg.

[The letter from which this is extracted *passim* was published in the *Texas Almanac*, 1861, 58-60. The writer was a member of the camp guard left by General Houston at Harrisburg, while the main army went to meet the enemy at San Jacinto.

Summary: About 150 men were detailed to guard the Harrisburg camp. This number was increased to perhaps 200 by the arrival of stragglers.]

* * * On the 18th of April, 1836, the Texas army arrived at a point on the northeast side of Buffalo bayou, opposite to Harrisburg, about a quarter of a mile distant. On the evening of the same day, from documents found in the captured Mexican mail, it was learned that Santa Anna, with his immediate command, had gone down towards New Washington, and that General Cos, with 600 or more effective troops, would arrive at Harrisburg on or about the 20th. On the next morning (the 19th) General Houston ordered 150 men to be detailed, *pro rata*, from the different companies, to remain at our present encampment, to guard the sick and the baggage, while the main army would proceed down the bayou, in pursuit of Santa Anna. This order was, as far as practicable, immediately carried into effect. Two entire companies (Splann's and Kuykendall's, both very small) were left with the guard. The captains of the other companies attempted to fill their detachments with volunteers, but I believe none of them quite succeeded; and in some companies (I believe in most, if not all of them) many of the sick were counted, as the required number of sound men could not possibly be induced to remain. This circumstance, however, is no detraction to those who did remain. Those required to remain were placed in an unenviable dilemma. On the one hand was certainty, with no incumbrance, to encounter the flower of the Mexican army, and no one doubted of victory; and on the other

hand, in charge of the sick, and of heavy, immovable baggage, was probability of conflict in which they must oppose more than thrice their number, with no chance to attack or even to change position for defense, and more than a double chance to be overpowered, crushed, and routed. * * * Sympathy for the sick and the importance of protecting the ammunition, with the fear that the guard could not be made strong enough, caused them to consent to remain.

On the same day, the main army proceeded down the bayou. On the 20th, some men that had been left sick at Donoho's came up, making our number about 200, including the sick. On the night of the 20th, as we confidently expected, Cos's division, six hundred strong, entered Harrisburg. * * * Having received an express from Santa Anna, Cos decamped, and marched with his division down the bayou. * * *

Respectfully and truly yours,

W. P. ZUBER.

XI.

Burning of Vince's Bridge.

[This letter was published in the *Texas Almanac*, 1861, 55-58. The writer says the idea of destroying Vince's bridge originated with John Coker, and that Deaf Smith proposed it to Houston, and secured permission to destroy the bridge.]

SAN ANTONIO, January 14, 1858.

Hon. Jesse Grimes: * * *

On the morning of the 21st of April, 1836, Captain Carnes' cavalry company, commonly called Deaf Smith's Spy Company, were drawn up in line on the edge of Gen. Houston's position. As well as I recollect, we were between thirty and forty strong. * * * While sitting in our saddles, John Coker, my left file-leader, made the following remark, and the suggestions following:

"Boys, * * * I believe it would be a good idea to go and burn that bridge, so as not only to impede the advance of reinforcements of the enemy, but it will cut off all chance of retreat of either party."

The proposition was seconded by the whole company, when Deaf Smith proposed to go and see the General, and get his approval of the enterprise. * * * Smith told us Houston asked him: "Can you do it without being cut to pieces by the Mexican cavalry?" Smith said that he replied to Houston: "Give me six men, and I will try." * * *

He said: "I want six men. I am going to burn the bridge." * * * I will here mention the names of all who joined Deaf Smith in the enterprise; * * * Deaf Smith, Denmore Rives, John Coker, Y. P. Alsbury, — Rainwater, John Garner, — Lapham. * * *

In a few minutes the bridge was in flames. If I recollect aright, it was built of cedar. * * *

Respectfully and truly yours,

Y. P. ALSBURY.

I, John Coker, of the county of Bexar, State of Texas, have no hesitation in stating that the material facts in the preceding narrative are correct.

Signed this 7th day of January, 1858.

JOHN COKER.

XII.

Amasa Turner's Account of the Battle.

[This account of the battle of San Jacinto has never before been printed. Captain Turner, who commanded a company of regulars during the campaign, wrote it in August, 1874, at the request of Hon. Guy M. Bryan, to whose collection of papers the MS. belongs.

The letter deals mainly with the disputed question of Houston's ordering a halt during the battle. The writer believes that he did not do so, and thinks the report that he did was maliciously spread by Colonel R. M. Coleman.]

At the battle of San Jacinto, after our line had taken the enemy's breastworks, and in passing them, our line was thrown into great confusion, and at that time and place the rout commenced. The enemy had not time to form in rear of their breastworks before the Texians were with them, and seemed to have the issue in their

own hands. Many of the company officers made an effort to form their command after passing the breastworks, but failed to [do] so. I, however, succeeded in forming a part of company into something like a line, and in the course of two hundred yards they all got into line, and we joined in the rout, in something like order in my company. After pursuing a few hundred yards at double-quick step, I heard the command given from near, "Halt, halt!" I looked round, and Lieutenant-Colonel Henry Millard was advancing, calling, "Halt, halt!" I did not order my company to halt until he came up and called out, "Captain Turner, halt your company, sir!" I then, as soon [as] possible, halted my command, and formed a line, and here I will remark that after I halted my company, that there was not a single gun fired by the enemy. They had thrown away their guns, and were running to get away, and Almonte, in a few minutes after, herded them and surrendered to General Rusk some five or six hundred yards from where I halted my command. Before Colonel Millard had time to give me his orders, Colonel J. A. Wharton rode up from the rear also, and cried out, "*Regulars, why have you stopped? On, on,*" and was about to pass us when Colonel Millard spoke to him. I did not hear the conversation between them. The result, however, was that Colonel M. said to me, he detailed my company to return to the battle ground and take charge of it by placing a guard around the Mexican camp. At this time I saw General Houston with some of his staff with him walking their horses slowly from the rear from the same direction that Colonel Millard and Colonel Wharton had come from, and it was from the direction of the battle field. When we got up to them—that is, Wharton, Millard and my company soon met Houston, and those with him were Inspector-General Geo. W. Hockley, Wm. G. Cook, James Collinsworth, and Volunteer Aids R. Eden Handy and Colonel R. M. Coleman. All this company returned to the battlefield with me and my company. After my arrival I halted my company near the gun (12-pounder) we had taken, and formed a line, and stood at ease. General Houston's company seemed to scatter and leave him as we came on the camp and battle ground, and he rode up in front of my company and stopped his horse, and in a minute or so he threw up his hands and exclaimed, "*All is lost, all is lost; my God, all is lost.*" This drew my attention to him. I saw he was looking at General Rusk

with the surrendered Mexicans on their way to our camp on Buffalo bayou. There was a spy glass lying on the ground near him, which [I] took up and handed him, and said, "Take this, General, it will assist you in ascertaining what that is out there in the prairie." He took it, and just then some one, I think my first Lieut., spoke and said that Rusk had a very respectable army now. Houston said to me, "Is that Rusk?" I said, "Yes, certainly, that is Rusk with the prisoners." I am of the opinion that when he first saw Rusk that he thought it was Filisola from Richmond; hence, his "*All is lost.*" By this time his staff were about him or near by. General Houston exclaimed, "*Have I a friend in this world? Col. Wharton, I am wounded, I am wounded; have I a friend in this world?*" Wharton said, "I wish I was [wounded?]; yes, General, I hope you have many friends." It was now about sunset, and the general and commander-in-chief, with staff and aids, left the battle ground for our camp on Buffalo bayou, and must have arrived there about the time that Rusk did with the prisoners.

* * * I have led you in the above round-about way to times and places in order that you might perfectly understand where and under what circumstances, and the time that General Houston or others made use of the order to halt.

I will now give you something more from hearsay:

Captain Isaac Moreland, a gentleman and a soldier, and was attached to the artillery on that day, for some cause I do not at this time recollect, lingered on the battlefield, and whilst there discovered a parcel of men engaged, as he thought, in the act of plundering the effects left on the ground by the enemy. He said they [were] breaking packages, and he told them to desist, as he would report them. He said he then left, and came up to where General Houston and staff were, and reported to him the fact, and that General Houston called out, "Halt, halt!" and sent Colonel Millard to detail a company and put a guard around the Mexican camp; that Millard left, overtook my company, and called me by name, and ordered me to halt, and detailed my company to return as above stated. Now, you will perceive that Captain Millard's remarks to me fit so well with what I have stated before mentioning his name that I believe every word of it.

Now, I will, as I think, explain how it was ever reported that

General Houston ever ordered a halt on the battlefield, etc.: At the time of the battle of San Jacinto R. M. Coleman, volunteer aid to Houston, was friendly with him, but soon afterwards became Houston's most inveterate enemy, as you know from the history of 1836, and as he was with Houston at the time Moreland came up and reported what was going on on the battlefield, it is not impossible, but probable, that General Houston did, under the circumstances, order a halt and give Colonel Millard the orders before mentioned. * * *

I will now close with a single remark, that if General Houston did, on receiving Moreland's report of the plundering of the Mexican camp, order a halt, to whom did he give that order? There was no one with him but his staff and two aids, together with Captain Moreland and Col. Henry Millard commanding the regulars, and at time Moreland reported to Houston, there was not a captain's command in sight of him but mine that could be identified. We were regular soldiers. Houston might have preferred regulars for the duty required; hence, his order to detail that company in sight for that express duty. * * *

I do [not] believe that General Houston ever ordered a halt of the army, or even wished or expected to halt it, but that he articulated the word "halt," surrounded by his staff and aids, I have no doubt.

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BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

The January *Publications* of the Southern History Association contains two articles of especial interest to all lovers of the Old South. They are the first chapter of the *History of the Confederate Treasury*, by Prof. E. A. Smith; and an essay on *The South in Olden Times*, by Dr. J. L. M. Curry.

NOTES AND FRAGMENTS.

Mrs. Harris wishes to correct the following typographical errors in her "Reminiscences": QUARTERLY, IV, p. 160, l. 33, for "The young man camped at our house," read "The young men," etc; p. 161, l. 9, for "General Houston to Gonzales with ten thousand," read "with one thousand"; p. 167, l. 23, for "The reports of the cannon were so distant," read "were so distinct."

ADELE B. LOOSCAN.

In the QUARTERLY, IV, p. 156, note 1, the date of Austin's speech at Brazoria is given through an inadvertence as September 12; it should be September 8.

EDITOR QUARTERLY.

L'ABEILLE AMERICAINE.

Philadelphia, 23 April, 1818.

Extracts from a letter dated Natchitoches, 16th of March, 1818.

Persons arriving from Galveztown bring the extraordinary news of the arrival there of a number of Frenchmen having with them a quantity of agricultural implements and munition of war. About three thousand more are expected there. They come partly from Philadelphia; all their property was marked Mobile. Generals L'Allemand and Rigaud are with them. They carefully avoid giving offence to the government. Their intentions are unknown, but it is believed that they wish to go beyond Big River, or perhaps to Tampico, to appropriate and occupy a country which may become the asylum of discontented Europeans, etc., etc.

New Orleans, 1st of April.

It is reported that the French exiles in the United States have formed for some time the plan of taking possession of the province of Texas, as well as neighboring countries known as internal provinces. A subscription has been raised among the richer persons to provide the first expenses. It is even said that they have acquainted the minister of Spain, at Washington, with their inten-

tion of colonizing the above province, in which they are willing to recognize the authority of old Spain, provided that they are allowed to live there quietly.

4th of June, 1818.

To the Editor: You are authorized to say that the French emigrants, who have formed an establishment on the Trinity river in the province of Texas, are assembled there to the number of about two hundred. That quiet reigns amongst them since the departure of all who were discontented with an enterprise demanding labor and perseverance; that the country they inhabit is admirably situated, that the land is very fertile; the neighboring Indians as well as the Spanish government are neither jealous nor troubled with respects to a colony which is purely agricultural, and wishes to present to the party which shall be victorious in the present struggle, a territory worth keeping and cultivated by men who have courageously quitted the sword for the plow. You may add, sir, that the independent Indian chiefs who inhabit the same country, have fraternized with the chief of the small French colony, and have made a point of proving their hospitality by providing their friends, the French, with the things most necessary for their subsistence.

L'ABEILLE AMERICAINE.

Philadelphia, 11 of June, 1818.

Extracts from letters from the French Colony of Trinity River in the Province of Texas.

We are established at the mouth of the Trinity River on the Orcoquinas bluff, which is twenty feet above the river even now when it is pretty high. On this plateau is a fine prairie, surrounded by woods with here and there a group of trees, communicating with what is known as Grand or Tolcositas Prairie, which is at least fifteen miles from the south to the north and which stretches toward the east as far as a bayou which communicates with Sabine Lake. The soil is of the best quality, easy to work. We have around us a wide stretch of land which promises the richest results to those who are willing to work. There is game in quantity. There are many wild cows, bulls and horses which can be easily caught. The

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We have already seen the chiefs of the Indian nations. We have smoked the calumet of peace, we have made reciprocal presents. They come each day to bring us provisions. We are abundantly provided with fresh meat, and we shall soon have enough both salt and smoked. Our colony is thus established in a vast and fertile country abounding in resources, situated at the mouth of a river that falls into a fine bay, where industries of all kinds should prosper more promptly than in any other country of the world. We have no intention of undertaking extravagant enterprises or of committing hostilities against anyone. We shall only use our weapons to repel aggressions, but we are thoroughly resolved to defend the country which we cultivate. Victims of circumstances, no power can deny to us the right to provide for our existence, and to assure it by our labor, our industry, our activity, and social order as well as natural law authorizes us to demand from an unoccupied country the products which we may need. We open an asylum to men in the same situation as ourselves. If success crowns our efforts, we shall have rendered an important service to our unfortunate fellow countrymen, as well as to others. If we do not succeed, we shall at least have had the courage to undertake it. We shall not have feared the fatigue and privations of the commencement. Our aim is praiseworthy, our intentions honorable and pure, and we may feel hope that in any case we shall obtain the approval and consent of the honest and faithful men who know us well.

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tion of colonizing the above province, in which they are willing to recognize the authority of old Spain, provided that they are allowed to live there quietly.

4th of June, 1818.

To the Editor: You are authorized to say that the French emigrants, who have formed an establishment on the Trinity river in the province of Texas, are assembled there to the number of about two hundred. That quiet reigns amongst them since the departure of all who were discontented with an enterprise demanding labor and perseverance; that the country they inhabit is admirably situated, that the land is very fertile; the neighboring Indians as well as the Spanish government are neither jealous nor troubled with respects to a colony which is purely agricultural, and wishes to present to the party which shall be victorious in the present struggle, a territory worth keeping and cultivated by men who have courageously quitted the sword for the plow. You may add, sir, that the independent Indian chiefs who inhabit the same country, have fraternized with the chief of the small French colony, and have made a point of proving their hospitality by providing their friends, the French, with the things most necessary for their subsistence.

L'ABEILLE AMERICAINE.

Philadelphia, 11 of June, 1818.

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